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'Adults Around the White House Are Furious About This' Political Gaffes Set Off Rash of Finger-Pointing The First Lady's Goals Face Legislative Reality

By Ruth Marcus Washington Post Service WASHINGTON — A rash of finger-pointing has erupted in the Clinton White House after a series of damaging political missteps. The president, struggling to put the focus on his economic program, found himself instead caught in controversy over "Hair Force One" and the dismissal of the White House travel office.

White House officials initially had tried to defend the handling of both episodes. They argued, for example, that the president, like everyone else, needs to get his hair cut. On Monday, however, they acknowledged what had been apparent all along. Both instances were public relations fiascos. What happened then "isn't going to happen again," said the White House communications director, George Steinhilber.

By Michael Kelly New York Times Service WASHINGTON — Hillary Clinton says the two weeks she spent in Little Rock, Arkansas, waiting for her father to die this winter, led her to give the speech in Austin, Texas, in which she sought to define the politics of meaning. Her reflections went back to 1961, when she was 14. She had been attending the Sunday-evening youth sessions conducted by the Reverend Donald G. Jones, the youth minister at Park Ridge's First Methodist Church. It was Mr. Jones who taught her the lessons that would most profoundly shape her idea of the way things ought to be.

two major problems being the crisis of meaning and alienation, he said, our religious language should speak in terms of unity, of connectedness, of overcoming alienation, of giving meaning. When Mr. Jones read the texts of Mrs. Clinton's Austin speech, he was struck by the obvious parallels between the oratory of the First Lady and the teachings of Dr. Tillich on alienation and meaninglessness: "These were precisely the terms Hillary struck in that speech in Austin. She talked of the discontent lurking beneath the surface and the politics of meaning."

Clinton Takes Slide in Polls WASHINGTON — The latest opinion polls show that more Americans disapprove of the way President Bill Clinton is doing his job than view it with favor. A USA Today-CNN-Gallup Poll over the weekend showed 44 percent approval of Mr. Clinton's performance, and a 46 percent disapproval rating. That compares with a 58 percent approval shortly after he took office. An ABC poll found his approval dropping sharply in the past month.

Victory Sign To the Serbs: U.S. Inaction On Troops

By Craig R. Whitney New York Times Service BELGRADE — From here, the plan to deal with the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina that foreign ministers of the United States, Russia, and Europe have agreed on looks like a recognition by the outside world that the Serbs have won the war with the Muslims. Savoring victory, Serbian leaders have stiffened their terms, disavowing suggestions they made last month that they would accept international monitors on the border between Bos-



A DREAM UNDONE AT THE GOLDEN GATE — Illegal immigrants from China awaiting processing by agents of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service in San Francisco, after they were apprehended near the Golden Gate Bridge. About 200 Chinese immigrants were smuggled into San Francisco Bay, allegedly by the freighter Pai Chang.

nia and Serbia to verify the presence of Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia that no arms or other military supplies were going to Bosnian battlegrounds. On Tuesday, Mr. Milosevic told the Russian mediator, Vitaly I. Churkin, that there was now no need for inspectors on the border. The day before, Radovan Karadzic, the leader of the Bosnian Serbs, affirmed that they would never recognize the division of the country into 10 cantons, as provided in the peace plan worked out by the United Nations and European Community negotiators, former Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance and Lord Owen of Britain.

Dissident Is Barred From UN After Pressure by China

By Paul Lewis New York Times Service UNITED NATIONS, New York — Bowing to pressure from the Chinese government, Secretary-General Butros Butros Ghali of the United Nations barred a leading Chinese dissident from holding a press conference Tuesday at UN headquarters despite the organization's official commitment to press freedom and the protection of human rights.

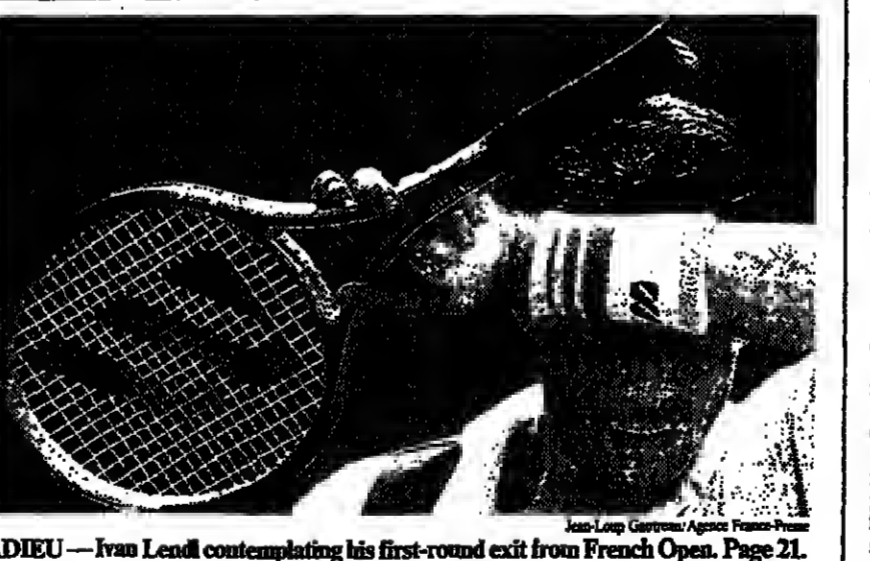
The secretary-general banned Shen Tong, 24, one of the leaders of the pro-democracy movement that organized the 1989 demonstrations in Tiananmen Square, from a room used by the UN Correspondents Association, which had invited him. Mr. Shen, a graduate student in sociology at Boston University, moved his press conference to the First Avenue sidewalk outside the United Nations.

Earlier, Madeleine K. Albright, the U.S. ambassador to the UN, sought to get the decision barring Mr. Shen reversed, but without success, the U.S. mission said. Mr. Butros Ghali said, "It would not be appropriate for this event to take place on the premises of the secretariat in view of its apparent purpose as an act of political opposition to a member state of the United Nations." He also declared himself "unalterably committed to the principle of free speech and to the cause of human rights worldwide."

Many opposition figures have given press conferences in the same meeting room. By bowing to pressure, the secretary-general has put himself in breach of the UN Charter. Article 100 of the charter says, "The secretary-general and the staff shall not seek or receive instructions from any government or from any other authority external to the organization."

What has changed? Mostly this: the Clinton administration's policy on the Balkans has become clear to the Serbs. A few months ago, when they did not know what the new American president was going to do, Serbian officials were privately professing contrition, and some said they were willing to compromise to find peace. Now that it is clear that Mr. Clinton and his European counterparts are not going to commit their military forces to a cruel civil war in the Balkans, the Serbs are dismissing the latest international admonitions to shape up or face "new and tougher measures" as empty saber rattling, worthy of contempt. The language of brute force is understood in a part of the world where Serbs, Croats, and Muslims have intermittently slaughtered and intermingled with each other over the centuries. But they also can read the plain language in the weekend declaration that makes it clear that Americans and Europeans are simply not willing to risk their own lives and money to stop the cruelty the former Yugoslavians.

Klosk High Court Assails Release of Papers WASHINGTON (NYT) — The Supreme Court assailed the Library of Congress on Tuesday of using bad judgment in releasing the papers of Justice Thurgood Marshall to the public so soon after his death and threatened that other justices would no longer agree to donate their papers to the library. In an extraordinary, stinging letter to James H. Billington, the librarian of Congress, Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist wrote: "I speak for a majority of the active justices of the court when I say that we are both surprised and disappointed by the library's decision to give unrestricted public access to Justice Thurgood Marshall's papers. He warned that, 'Unless there is some presently unknown basis for the library's action, we think it is such that future donors of judicial papers will be inclined to look elsewhere for a repository.' The justices were apparently surprised by the publication by newspapers this week of details of Justice Marshall's papers. Related article, Page 3.



ADIEU — Ivan Lendl contemplating his first-round exit from French Open, Page 21.

Lean Years for Germany As Leaders Warn of Structural Flaws, Public Prefers to Ignore the Crisis

By Brandon Mitchener International Herald Tribune FRANKFURT — For most Germans, the cornerstone of the country's strategy to become more competitive, after a decade of easy living, is cutting fat. But as the German recession deepens, government and business leaders are concluding that cost-cutting, no matter how zealous, is insufficient to restore competitiveness and prosperity. Germany must acknowledge that flaws in its economic, political and educational systems are structural and get serious about correcting them, they say. "Industry and the economy are stuck in a cost and innovation crisis, labor in an employment crisis, the political class in a credibility crisis and society in an orientation crisis," Richard von Weizsäcker, the German president, told business people in a sobering speech at the Hannover Industrial Fair last month. "If we do not want to fall behind our competitors in Asia and now in Europe, too, we have to be more open to structural change," he said. "We have to dismantle many structures that run counter to innovation and investment."

Starting Over Restructuring businesses and economies. Fourth in a series of articles. Companies Find Europe Resists Needed Change ST. GALLEN, Switzerland — Europe's biggest businesses largely reorganized their companies' faults and want to fix them, but European governments and society as a whole are proving considerably more resistant to change, executives, economists and government officials said at a seminar here. Businesses are painfully aware of their competitive weaknesses and are working fast to salvage what remains of dwindling markets, executives from some of Europe's biggest companies asserted at a seminar on mobilizing corporate energies at the University of St. Gallen. To not only survive but also make profits in increasingly cutthroat global competition, European companies know they will have to become more focused, more flexible, faster to innovate and more friendly to customers, the executives said. But increasing protectionism, a heavy tax burden, excessive pay, overregulation and peoples' unwillingness to part voluntarily with the prosperity of the past threaten to make even the most ambitious corporate restructuring irrelevant, many of the seminar participants said. "It's about time we mobilize the state in the same way we do it with our companies," said Jürgen Schrampp, chairman of Deutsche Aero-

How Violent Is That Video Game? A Maker Will Tell

By Paul Farhi Washington Post Service WASHINGTON — Sega of America Inc., whose electronic games have entertained a generation of children with murderous villains, callous car chases and bloody shoot-'em-ups, intends to voluntarily impose a rating system on its products. Taking its cue from the movie industry, the U.S. arm of the Japanese company said its ratings would help parents differentiate between simple action-oriented games and the increasingly graphic fare that is made possible by new technology. The announcement Monday by Sega, the second-largest video-game maker in the world after Nintendo Co., comes amid rising concern over the level of violence on television and in the movies, particularly in programming aimed at children. Two bills were introduced in Congress last week to clamp down on violent TV programs, and top officials from the network and cable television industries have agreed to consider steps to mollify critics. Some observers said Sega was hoping to preempt attempts to

include video games in the anti-violence crusade, much as the movie industry voluntarily adopted its code in the late 1960s amid criticism of violence and nudity in films. Some sources suggested that the voluntary ratings plan was a shrewd marketing move: By highlighting a game's violent nature, Sega might be able to make such games stand out with teenagers titillated by such fare. Arnold Fege, director of government relations for the National Parent-Teacher Association, said it had only been "a matter of time before the video folks got swept up" in anti-violence efforts. "I think this is a really good public relations point," he added. "Someone at Sega has been reading the public opinion polls." Sega said it would use three labels for its games: GA, for general audiences; MA-13, for "mature audiences" 13 years old and over; and MA-17, for those over 17. The company released no criteria for the ratings, although it said an internal

panel would judge all new products, starting this week. Products already on dealers' shelves will not be labeled. In "Mortal Combat," a game licensed for the Sega system, players fight off their rivals by decapitating them or breaking their spines with punches and kicks. The packaging for another Sega game, called "Streets of Rage," tantalizes would-be consumers with the following words: "Jab 'em. Slam 'em. Kick or throw 'em. Whatever it takes. All with your barehanded martial arts moves. Amazingly realistic street fighting action." Sega makes the popular Genesis system, a small computer unit that hooks up to a television set. By manipulating a controller, the user can direct the action supplied by game cartridges, which can be bought or rented. A Sega official said the company was under no outside pressure to adopt the ratings. Instead, he said, the system was made necessary by technological advances in computer units, which make the sound and

Business/Finance Dow Jones Trib Index The Dollar table with market data.



# STATESIDE / 'GUIDANCE' FOR FBI

## President Moves to Extricate Himself From Travel Affair

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

WASHINGTON — President Bill Clinton tried to distance himself Tuesday from a messy incident involving the FBI in the travel staff.

"I had nothing to do with any decision, except to save the taxpayers and the press money," Mr. Clinton said. "That's all I plan to do and saved the taxpayers a bunch of money. Any other questions, I obviously refer you to Mr. McLarty." Thomas F. (Mac) McLarty is the White House chief of staff.

George Stephanopoulos, the White House communications director, announced that Mr. McLarty would conduct an internal review of the incident "to see what we can do better" and what went right and wrong.

Mr. Clinton and Mr. Stephanopoulos spoke after White House officials had acknowledged a series of unusual direct con-

tacts between presidential staff and FBI over operations of the White House travel office, which arranges charter flights for the White House press for presidential trips. The contacts prompted Attorney General Janet Reno to complain that the White House had ignored administration policies installed to protect against political use of the FBI.

Among the contacts was a meeting at the White House with John E. Collingswood, director of the FBI's public affairs office. At the meeting on Friday, Mr. Collingswood was given "guidance" in drafting a statement released by the White House later that day to back up its contention that possible criminal acts — not political criticism — were the reason the whole travel staff had been dismissed abruptly two days before, as Dee Dee Myers, the White House spokeswoman, had said.

In a new wrinkle on Tuesday, Mr. Stephanopoulos declared that only two mem-

bers — not all seven — were fired. The rest, he said, were on "administrative leave."

White House aides said that the FBI had begun its inquiry into the travel office two weeks ago at the request of an associate White House counsel, William Kennedy, who was a partner with Hillary Rodham Clinton at the Rose law firm in Little Rock, Arkansas.

Mr. Kennedy called Fred Verinder, a deputy assistant director for the FBI criminal investigative division, on May 13 to express "concerns" about operations of the travel office. FBI agents met with officials at the White House on May 13 and May 15.

Mr. Kennedy's call was made three days after the president's Hollywood friend, Harry Thomason, and Mr. Thomason's partner in an aircraft consulting business had complained to the White House about other companies being shut out of opportunities to provide charter airline service to the White House press corps.

Ms. Reno said she was never informed

that the White House had asked the FBI to review the travel office matter, nor was she shown the FBI press statement released by the White House last Friday. Ms. Reno said she called the White House counsel, Bernard Nussbaum, on Monday to protest the White House handling of the matter.

Ms. Reno said she told Mr. Nussbaum, "It would have been better to have gone through the attorney general's office." Mr. Nussbaum's explanation, she said in an interview, is that aides there thought it "was just a police matter."

Republicans were quick to seize the opportunity to draw more White House blood.

Bob Dole, the leader of the Senate's minority Republicans, called the FBI involvement a "very disturbing abuse of power" that evoked memories of Watergate, the scandal that drove Richard Nixon from office in 1974 and included misuse of national security agencies for political purposes.

Senator Arlen Specter, Republican of Pennsylvania, called the White House contacts with the FBI "suspect" and said he would ask the Senate Judiciary Committee to demand a full explanation.

When the travel office workers were dismissed, Ms. Myers said it was because accountants had found evidence of "gross mismanagement."

But White House officials confirmed that the call from Mr. Kennedy and the first meeting with the FBI was made a day before the accountants began their review. The call, according to Mr. Stephanopoulos, was to discuss "concerns" about the travel operation.

Among the concerns, Mr. Stephanopoulos and others said, were those of Catherine A. Cornelius, the 25-year-old distant cousin of the president who was named to take over the travel office when the aides were dismissed.

### POLITICAL NOTES

#### Menu Too Rich for a Democratic Breakfast

WASHINGTON — The Democratic Party must have figured it had come up with an offer on lobbyist could refuse. In invitations faxed and mailed all over the city last week, the party offered a big breakfast with President Bill Clinton, intimate briefings with senior White House officials and a gala dinner party.

The price: \$15,000 a couple. Political action committees and deep-pocket corporate contributors were especially welcome.

But after discussions with the White House — already smarting from a bad run of disclosures about allegations of cronyism and misusing the perquisites of office — the party canceled the breakfast with the president after a reporter's call asking about Mr. Clinton's participation. A party spokeswoman said the breakfast was dropped to avoid any appearance of impropriety.

Some White House officials said they were not even aware of the Democrats' plan to have the president attend the breakfast before it was brought to their attention.

The fund-raising scheme, which mimics an approach made popular by Republican administrations, offered potential donors the chance to participate in a weekend of activity that includes a buffet dinner with Thomas F. McLarty 3d, the White House chief of staff, the breakfast with Mr. Clinton and several briefings with senior administration officials. The events would be capped by a huge gala at the Washington Convention Center.

"I don't think that in any way shape or form that we are selling access to this president or this administration at all," said Catherine Moore, the spokeswoman for the Democratic National Committee. "We're a political party that has to raise funds. We're doing all we can to increase our small donor base and broaden our donor base across the country." (N17)

#### Tax Package Lacks Votes, House Critic Says

WASHINGTON — Amid White House insistence that Congress will enact its package of tax increases and spending cuts largely unchanged, a leading Democratic critic said the plan still lacked enough support to survive a crucial vote Thursday by the full House.

Opposition to the package's most contentious provision, a \$71 billion energy tax, also continued to mount in the Senate Finance Committee, the measure's next stop.

The Democratic critic, Representative Charles W. Stenholm of Texas, said a number of House Democrats are reluctant to vote for the budget unless it included new curbs on health-care spending and other mandatory federal programs, a less onerous energy tax or both.

He said a "strong effort" to negotiate new restraints on the growth of the mandatory programs was under way. But for the moment, he said, a nose count by the House's Democratic leadership had concluded that the administration package was still short of the 218 votes it needs to pass the House. (N17)

#### Quote/Unquote

Ross Perot, referring to a fund-raising technique popular during the Bush administration: "My dream before I die is that I get a list of those who paid a thousand dollars for a photo with the president. They'd buy anything. I got a lot of things to sell 'em." (LAT)

### Go on TV, Democrats Ask Clinton As Polls Fall

By Paul F. Horvitz  
International Herald Tribune

WASHINGTON — Public approval of President Bill Clinton is continuing to plummet, and nervous Democrats in Congress urged him Tuesday to go on national television to shore up support for his five-year budget plan.

For the first time in Mr. Clinton's presidency, the level of disapproval by the public in the way he is handling his job surpassed the level of approval, according to two nationwide polls.

ABC News found this week that 48 percent of Americans disapprove of Mr. Clinton's handling of his job while 46 percent approve. A month ago, 59 percent approved and 39 percent disapproved.

Similarly, a Gallup Poll this week found 46 percent disapproving and 44 percent approving. A month ago, the approval rating was 55 percent and the disapproval rating 37 percent.

Previous presidents have been similarly afflicted, "but it usually doesn't happen this soon," according to Stephen Hess, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution in Washington.

Mr. Hess, an expert on the presidency, said Mr. Clinton had been the victim of "an awful lot of self-inflicted wounds in terms of what that have been magnified by the news media."

"I think these things can turn around fairly quickly," he added, especially if the president can gain final passage of his budget program.

However, cracks are still appearing within Democratic Party ranks as the budget plan nears a final vote in the House of Representatives and Mr. Clinton began a series of meetings and phone calls Tuesday that will bring him in contact with every Democratic House member.

After seeing the president, several House Democrats said they had recommended that he give a television address to better explain his plan to cut the budget deficit by \$500 billion while expanding "investment" spending.

Republicans have relentlessly at-



President Clinton on Tuesday as he tried to distance himself from the decision to dismiss members of the White House travel office.

### Marshall, Too, Had a Dream

#### His Pleas Held Court on Civil Rights Course

By Fred Barbash and Joan Biskupic

WASHINGTON — In 1978, an anguished Justice Thurgood Marshall sat down and began drafting a plea to his colleagues on the Supreme Court about the case known as University of California Regents v. Bakke, which was the first real challenge to affirmative action that the court had confronted.

According to newly available papers from his files, Justice Marshall feared that the court was going to strike down race preferences in university admissions.

"I wish to address the question of whether Negroes have 'arrived,'" he wrote. "Just a few examples illustrate that Negroes most certainly have not. In our own court, we have had only three Negro law clerks here, and not so far have we had a Negro officer of this court. On a broader scale, this week's U.S. News & World Report has a story about 'Who Runs America.' They list some 83 persons — not one Negro, even as a would-be runner-up."

other after serving a combined 57 years on the court.

When President Lyndon B. Johnson appointed Justice Marshall to the bench in 1967, the liberalism of Chief Justice Earl Warren, embodied in rulings such as Brown, was still strong. As appointments by Republican presidents turned the court in a more conservative direction, he, Justice Brennan and Justice Harry A. Blackmun formed a consistent voice in opposition.

A consciousness of this special relationship comes through in the memos exchanged among them. "We three are in dissent in the above," Justice Brennan wrote Justice Marshall and Justice Blackmun during a 1988 case concerning the legality of setting aside a percentage of government contracts for minority businesses. "Would you, Thurgood, take it on?"

Often their common foe was Warren E. Burger, who succeeded Justice Warren in 1969 and served as chief justice until he retired in 1986. Justice Burger liked to narrow the law, Justice Marshall liked to stretch it. Particularly if it benefited the poor or minorities, Justice Marshall would push the law as far as he could. He believed that criminal defendants should have a chance to defend themselves at every turn.

Small things were a matter of principle. In October 1990, he received the customary circular from the chief justice inviting the associate justices to attend the annual Christmas party.

From Justice Marshall came a dissent: "As usual, I will not attend the Christmas Party, but I will pay my share of the bill. I still believe in separation of church and state."

By the end of the case, a bare majority agreed that it was permissible for colleges to use race as one factor in admissions, although the court's ultimate holding was clouded because so many justices wrote separate opinions. Justice Marshall's published opinion struck out at the court for failing to end the persistent inequities that separate blacks from whites.

His writings in the Bakke case, including his handwritten first draft of the plea to colleagues as well as a slightly revised typed version, are contained in the papers that the late justice left to the Library of Congress after his retirement in 1991.

The papers, which became available after his death in January, display what many court historians consider his most meaningful contribution to the court: a view of the real world beyond the briefs and formal arguments.

In the areas he most cared about — civil rights, criminal justice, privacy — Justice Marshall was utterly certain about where he stood: unyielding, activist and just a tad difficult.

While other justices often couched disagreement in euphemisms, he was more direct: "I believe we are simply not in accord," he wrote to Justice Lewis F. Powell on June 16, 1986, refusing to compromise in an opinion he was writing forbidding the execution of murderers found to be insane.

He let his law clerks know what he disliked, frequently scrawling "NO!" in giant letters on the face of some draft opinions.

When a subject did not interest or engage him, Justice Marshall let others take the lead. His papers contain few examples of him expressing himself on more routine subjects that comprise the bulk of the docket.

In these matters, the papers underscore the extent to which he relied on his longtime friend, Justice William J. Brennan Jr. In a 1990 case involving Social Security benefits, for example, a Marshall clerk encouraged him in a memo to go one way, but noted that "WJB's clerk is advising" Justice Brennan to go the other. Justice Marshall's message to his clerk was clear. Next to Justice Brennan's initials, he jotted "add TM." The decision shows that Justice Brennan and Justice Marshall voted together.

The Brennan-Marshall relationship was among the closest between two justices in court history. The diminutive, smiling Irishman from New Jersey and the huge, gruff-sounding civil rights pioneer from Baltimore grew old together, retiring within about a year of each

other after serving a combined 57 years on the court.

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acked it as too heavily dependent on tax increases, chief among them a proposed tax on the heat content of fuels. Instead, they propose enacting a ceiling, or "cap," on the growth of such federal "entitlement" programs as Social Security, retirement benefits and Medicare and Medicaid health insurance.

There appears to be growing sentiment at the White House for accepting some version of the entitlement cap in order to avoid the "tax and spend" label that Republicans are affixing to the Democratic budget. Conservative Democrats have proposed such a limit to show that the party is serious about cutting government spending. A vote on the budget is expected Thursday in the House.

"We seem to have lost the perception game," said Representative William B. Richardson, Democrat of New Mexico. "This is the most important vote all of us are going to cast."

Representative Dan Glickman, Democrat of Kansas, said: "I think the American people do not totally understand what's in the program."

It is unclear whether Mr. Clinton will accept the lawmakers' advice and speak to the nation.

The most recent Gallup Poll found that Americans' support for Mr. Clinton's economic plan has slipped badly. While 59 percent approved it in late February and 29 percent disapproved, support has fallen now to 45 percent and opposition has shot up to 44 percent.

### Away From Politics

- A boy left blind and unable to walk or talk after a 1990 car accident was awarded \$15 million in damages by a Los Angeles Superior Court jury, which found Hyundai Motor Co. responsible for his injuries. The jury said the seat-belt system on the 1988 Hyundai Excel, which had a shoulder restraint but no lap belt, was faulty.
- Nearly seven months after finding the bodies of an alleged British spy, Ian Stuart Spiro, and his family, San Diego authorities said they were still "trying to determine whether the motive was a murder-suicide, a robbery, an organized crime hit or a possible hit from foreign agents."
- A seventh senior naval officer has been given an office job pending the outcome of the investigation of the navy's Tailhook sexual-assault case, the navy said. Captain David V. Park, commander of Carrier Air Wing 1, was assigned to shore duty in Norfolk, Virginia, to be "readily available" to the investigating officer.
- Colorado's attorney general urged the state Supreme Court to lift a temporary ban against an anti-gay-rights amendment, saying homosexuals would be protected under federal law. The lawyer who represents gay-rights groups argued that the measure, approved by voters in November, would give Coloradans the right to discriminate.
- Five black women who were called "water buffalo" by a white student at the University of Pennsylvania dropped their racial harassment complaint, but denounced the school, its hearing board and the press for having failed them "miserably." Their surprise move was announced just hours after a faculty-student board said it would rule on their complaint in September.
- Virginia Military Institute's attempt to continue to exclude women was dealt a setback when the U.S. Supreme Court refused to intervene in the controversy and Mary Sue Terry, the leading candidate for Virginia governor, said the academy should move to admit women for the first time in its 154-year history.
- A judge blocked the killing of 350 diseased ducks in Venice, California, after their supporters offered to take the birds to a quarantined reserve. Wildlife officials said the infected ducks threaten migrating waterfowl.

### CLINTON: Finger-Pointing

Continued from Page 1

House bubble that surrounds all presidents, has lost touch with how things look to the public, and whether the people around him have the judgment and the influence to stand up to him when he is wrong.

"Somebody just didn't use their head," in having the presidential haircut take place on Air Force One while flying up air traffic at the Los Angeles international airport.

Most disturbing to insiders is that this was all supposed to have been fixed by now.

The difficult first days of the administration — the uproar over homosexuals in the military and the nomination of Zoë Baird for attorney general — could be chalked up to the late start in getting the White House staff operation under way, plus an unpleasant dose of bad luck.

But events offered painful proof that weaknesses remain.

Emerging from the White House after a strategy session Monday, an adviser James Carville, said he had only a brief conversation with the president but has concluded that Clinton & Co. has to change its operation because Americans are losing sight of what "we are about," primarily, he said, economic renewal and health reform.

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U.S. and North Korea to Meet on Nuclear Issues

By R. Jeffrey Smith Washington Post Service WASHINGTON — Galvanized by a looming crisis over North Korea's nuclear program, the United States and North Korea have agreed to hold their first high-level diplomatic meeting in 16 months next week in New York, according to U.S. and North Korean officials.

The officials said the central topic was to be North Korea's plan to withdraw from an international accord that bans development of nuclear arms. The announced withdrawal, which could take effect as early as June 12, has provoked widespread concern that North Korea is determined to divert its ostensibly civilian nuclear program to making nuclear weapons.

North Korea is sending its first deputy minister of foreign affairs, Kang Sok Chu, and eight other officials to discuss its stance on the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty and other security matters.

The U.S. delegation for the June 2 meeting will be led by Robert Galucci, an assistant secretary of state for public-opinion affairs, who is the top U.S. official on nuclear proliferation matters. North Korea, which has no diplomatic relations with the United States, has long sought a high-level meeting to help defuse U.S. suspicion toward its Communist government.

U.S. officials said that Washington was willing to listen if North Korea met several U.S. demands. The officials said that Mr. Galucci planned to tell Mr. Kang that North Korea must adhere strictly to the nonproliferation treaty and fully carry out a separate, bilateral

accord with South Korea barring any enrichment or reprocessing of fissile materials for nuclear weapons. The accord has been stalled by North Korea's reluctance to give South Korea broad rights to conduct inspections on its territory.

Mr. Galucci also plans to say that North Korea must allow the International Atomic Energy Agency, which enforces the treaty, to inspect several alleged nuclear-related installations that Pyongyang claims are off-limits to foreign inspectors. U.S. and international experts suspect that the facilities harbor evidence that North Korea has made more plutonium, a crucial ingredient for nuclear weapons, than it has declared.

Officials said Mr. Galucci was prepared to offer North Korea several incentives to meet these U.S. demands, including a promise that Pyongyang, as an adherent to the nonproliferation treaty, would not be attacked with U.S. nuclear arms. North Korea had cited the threat of such an attack, among other issues, when it announced on Feb. 12 that its adherence to the treaty was not in its "supreme interests."

The officials said Mr. Galucci was also prepared to raise the possibility of additional talks on future political and economic cooperation and the termination of an annual joint U.S.-South Korean military exercise. North Korea had protested against this exercise when it withdrew from the treaty.

The United States and South Korea have agreed on a "face-saving" approach to the international inspections that North Korea has been resisting, an official said. Under the plan, inspectors would visit nuclear facilities in North and South Korea simultaneously, under the supervision of a joint inspection team.

"We give it all about a 25 to 35 percent chance of success," said another official, noting that a North Korean rebuff and withdrawal from the treaty would very likely lead to a United Nations Security Council vote for economic sanctions against Pyongyang.

North-South Talks Sought

North Korea proposed to South Korea on Tuesday that presidential envoys meet on Monday to discuss the first inter-Korean summit meeting and nuclear issues. The Associated Press reported from Seoul.

AMERICAN TOPICS

Suburbs' New Look: Diversity Is the Rule

To fight conformity, the Chicago suburb of New Lenox is considering an "anti-monotony" ordinance to stop developers from building subdivisions where all houses look alike.

"What it will say is two identical appearing houses cannot be built next to one another or across the street from another, or kitty-corner," said Village President John Nowakowski. "We don't want to look like we came from a cookie-cutter."

Two other Chicago suburbs, Tinley Park and Carol Stream, already have outlawed identical single-family dwellings built next to one another. Carol Stream's "anti-monotony" ordinance prohibits similar paint jobs on adjacent homes.

Supporters of such legislation say it protects more than just esthetics — that diversity maintains property values and improves public safety, since emergency personnel have a harder time picking out homes when all look alike.

Some builders contend that "anti-monotony" laws increase housing costs and potentially reduce some first-time homebuyers. Supporters of such legislation say it protects more than just esthetics — that diversity maintains property values and improves public safety, since emergency personnel have a harder time picking out homes when all look alike.

Short Takes

If you have accumulated, say, 18,000 miles (about 30,000 kilometers) on a frequent-flyer program that requires 20,000 miles to qualify for a free flight, you don't necessarily have to fly another 2,000 miles. If you're just a few miles short of your goal there are several ways to make up the difference, according to Insider Flyer magazine. Some

Pretoria Arrests Dozens

Black Militants Held After Raids

The Associated Press JOHANNESBURG — In pre-dawn raids nationwide, the police Tuesday arrested dozens of leaders in the Pan-Africanist Congress, a militant black group linked to recent mass attacks against white civilians.

It was the biggest crackdown on black political leaders since President Frederick W. de Klerk began reforms in 1990 to end apartheid.

The African National Congress, the largest black group, denounced the action, saying it could disrupt delicate black-white negotiations on ending apartheid. The parties have been nearing agreement on a date for the country's first election to include blacks.

Nelson Mandela, leader of the ANC, said, "I think it's quite improper for the government, at a time when we are negotiating, to use such strong-arm methods."

The small, radical Pan-Africanist Congress pulled out of Tuesday's round of the multiparty talks and said it would not return until the group's leaders had had a chance to confer.

"We are effectively banned," Benny Alexander, the organization's secretary-general said at a press conference in Johannesburg.

Law and Order Minister Herman Kriel told Parliament that at least 49 officials of the group had been detained for questioning in connection with crimes, including murder, attempted murder and firebomb attacks.

The police searched dozens of homes and Pan-Africanist offices around the country, including the house of its president, Clarence Makwetu, who was traveling at the time and was not arrested.

Fifteen whites have been killed in attacks since the shootings began late last year. The Pan-Africanist national organizer, Maxwell Nemasandzani, one of those arrested Tuesday, said during the weekend that killing white farmers was legitimate.

In another development, riot police in armored vehicles waged running gun battles Tuesday morning with black residents in Kaitshong, one of several townships southeast of Johannesburg.

The police said they found 11 bodies following overnight fighting between rival black groups, bringing the death toll in the region to at least 45 since Saturday.

Iranian Jets Strike Rebel Bases Deep Inside Iraq

NICOSIA — Iranian warplanes hit two rebel bases deep inside Iraq on Tuesday, sharply escalating tensions between Tehran and Baghdad, which have not signed a treaty ending their 1980-88 war.

No casualties were reported in the first Iranian action against the Mujahidin Khalq, the main Iranian opposition group, in more than a year.

The raiding planes went up to 100 kilometers (60 miles) inside Iraq after an exchange of accusations between Tehran and Baghdad, which have not signed a treaty ending their 1980-88 war.

Fighting along the 1,200-kilometer frontier preceded the 1980 Iraqi invasion of Iran.

Tehran said Iranian Air Force jets struck Mujahidin bases after "repeated sabotage activities."

The official Iranian press agency, IRNA, quoted a military source as saying the attacks dealt "heavy blows" to the Mujahidin.

The unnamed spokesman held Iraq responsible for the raids because it had failed to heed earlier warnings from Tehran to halt what

he described as "transborder aggression."

Iraq said six Iranian warplanes attacked around the towns of Al Khaila, 100 kilometers west of the border, and Jahula, 50 kilometers west of the border, north of Baghdad.

"The evil leadership in Tehran, which is despised by its people, must be reminded of the past lessons," said an announcement carried by the official Iraqi press agency, INA.

The Iraqi agency quoted an unidentified government spokesman as saying that fuel depots were set ablaze, a medical center was destroyed and power cables were severed in Al Khaila.

A statement by the Mujahidin Khalq said two U.S.-built F-4 fighter jets set two fuel tanks on fire in the early-morning attack on the main rebel base at Ashraf, near Al Khaila. Simultaneously, two other Iranian aircraft struck a base in Jahula, the rebels said.

Last week, Tehran disclosed that there had been an increase in anti-government activity inside Iraq accused Baghdad of sending the rebels across the border.

The Mujahidin Khalq rebels have increased their activities inside Iraq in recent months. Most of their major targets have been in western Iraq near the frontier. The rebels apparently are exploiting internal unrest in Iraq, triggered by economic hardships and political bickering ahead of the June 11 presidential elections.

President Saddam Hussein of Iraq had reined in the Mujahidin after the 1991 Gulf War, but there has been speculation that he might have unleashed them again to divert his people's attention from increasing hardships caused by international sanctions still in force.

The rebels, based in Iraq, claimed to have killed or wounded 250 Iranian Revolutionary Guards in clashes during April and May. The rebels said one of the jets attacking the Ashraf base was hit by anti-aircraft fire. The statement said 10 Russian-built Iranian Sukhoi jets flew over the Ashraf base 20 minutes after the air raid, but made no new attacks.

VIDEO: Sega Plans Game Ratings

Continued from Page 1 Images increasingly realistic. Since Christmas, Sega has sold about 200,000 units of a CD-ROM game machine that enables participants to interact with movie-quality clips of actors instead of the cartoon-like figures standard in older home units.

The British Board of Film Classification gave the rating to "Night Trap," a game made by Sega that combines live action and computer graphics. The game was restricted because of two scenes: one of a man hanging upside down with blood draining from his neck and another of a woman with a hook around her neck being dragged away.

"With the bigger microprocessor coming out, the realism we can offer may be recalled for some audiences," said Ellen Van Buskirk, Sega's director of marketing services.

U.K. Restricts Sega Game British film censors classified a

INTERNATIONAL CLASSIFIED

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# Clinton Weighs Year's Status Quo On China Tariffs

By Kevin Murphy  
International Herald Tribune  
TAIPEI — Politicians still hurl budget documents and invective with equal enthusiasm in Taiwan's Legislative Yuan, where bench-clearing brawls often conclude debate in Asia's most vigorous democracy.

But the amount of quiet time spent by senior government officials summoned for legislators' question time is causing Taiwan's biggest parliamentary headaches.

"It's very difficult to find a minister or any of his top deputies in their offices these days," said Susie Chiang, an appointed member of the more genteel National Assembly, which meets twice a year to consider amendments to the constitution. "They're all down at the legislature, waiting around and talking about the budget."

Analysts predicted that there would be more roughhousing when the opposition Democratic Progressive Party won 52 of the Legislative Yuan's 161 seats in a December election.

Legislators from both sides have failed to disappoint fans of full-body-contact politics. On May 13, the Democratic Progressive Party, which imposes stiff fines on members who miss a legislative session, noticed that so few members of the governing Kuomintang were present that the opposition could win a vote to kill a 185 million Taiwan dollar (\$7 million) spending proposal.

While Kuomintang runners scurried out to gather missing legislators, the opposition sped through the voting process, capitalizing on the temporary majority.

The episode ended with a shouting match, sparked by a Kuomintang legislator lobbing a copy of the budget proposal at an opposition member to delay a head count. The Democratic Progressive Party nonetheless carried the vote.

Such antics fail to raise an eyebrow in Taiwan, where an opposition has noisily emerged after decades of one-party rule and martial law. But the gridlock arising

from both parties' zealous questioning of government ministers is causing deep concern, as question time has become Show Time.

Each legislator is allowed a maximum of 30 minutes of questioning in two installments in each of two general sessions each year. They also get another crack at ministers in one of 10 committee meetings.

Up to 100 government officials can sometimes be found idling in the chamber should they be called to account. "Sometimes I feel sorry for them having to sit around all day," said Hsiu-lien Annette Lu of the Democratic Progressive Party. "But it's not just us. KMT members are feeling pressure from their own voters to make the government more accountable. It's a very big change in Taiwan politics."

"Our ministers are spending a lot more time in the legislature it's true, two whole days a week," said Shen Kuo-Hsing, director of the department of international organizations in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. "But democracy in Taiwan is relatively young. People on all sides have a lot to learn."

Said Ho Fo, professor of political science at Taiwan's National University, "I believe this kind of development may be harmful to the party system in the future."

"There is no real party discipline," he added. "It's very hard to follow the British model. It's more like the United States, where legislators are more accountable to their individual constituencies."

The mayhem is exacerbated by two other factors. A widening split between two Kuomintang factions means that its legislators try to embarrass ministers who are from the other faction.

The opposition, meanwhile, uses every opportunity to harangue Kuomintang members about the need for Taiwan to declare its independence from China, a move opposed by members of the party, which fled to Taiwan when the Communists gained control of the mainland in 1949.

The opposition also uses the Taiwanese dialect, long banned by the Kuomintang, to query officials. Because some do not speak the dialect, and they are loathe to admit it for risk of alienating Taiwanese-speaking voters, sessions are hampered by long, halting answers.

"People are trying to destroy their enemies, not treat them as colleagues with differing views," Mr. Ho said. "They're using hard language to condemn each other about the independence issue. It's impossible for them to reach a consensus. We have a crisis of state on our hands."

While both sides agree that changes in question-time procedures are overdue, both intend to make the most of the situation until new legislation is passed.

"Most of the government ministers don't do their homework," said a Democratic Progressive Party official, Chen Fang-ming. "They're not familiar with what is going on in their areas, that's why the process is taking so long."

# In the Taiwan Legislature, Question Time Is Gridlock Time

progress by Beijing on a broad array of human-rights issues, like a full accounting of the whereabouts of political prisoners. But it would not link future renewals to Beijing's progress on any single human-rights issue.

The proposal also says China must hold to past commitments on curbing the spread of missile and nuclear-weapon technology and on providing access to its markets, or face retaliation that might include the revocation of the favorable trade status.

In three separate accords last year, China agreed to limit its exports of ballistic missile technology, to protect foreign copyrights and trademarks, and to lower tariffs on a broad range of goods.

By June 3, the eve of the fourth anniversary of the Tiananmen Square crackdown, Mr. Clinton is expected to announce his decision on China's trade status.

The new proposal, recommended by Mr. Clinton's top advisers, represents a softening from his final position in the presidential campaign, which in turn was less stringent than his original stand. In December 1991, at a debate in New Hampshire, he said China's access to the American market should be cut off entirely unless democratic changes were made by the end of 1992, and he criticized the idea of imposing conditions.

In his campaign manifesto prepared last summer, he wrote: "We believe that the Bush administration erred by extending Most Favored Nation trade status to the People's Republic of China before it achieved documented progress on human rights. We should not reward China with improved trade status when it has continued to trade goods made by prison labor and has failed to make sufficient progress on human rights since the Tiananmen Square massacre."

Since he assumed office, Mr. Clinton has come under intense pressure from business and farm groups not to impose conditions at all on China, which has one of the fastest-growing economies in the world. More than 300 large corporations and trade associations, including General Motors and the Chamber of Commerce, sent him a letter on May 12 urging an unconditional extension.

The debate over China's trade status took on a different aspect during a Senate Banking Committee hearing Tuesday on a Treasury report that asserted that China was manipulating its currency to capture U.S. markets.

Members of the UN force setting up mortars Tuesday near a polling place near Siem Reap, Cambodia. Shells had hit nearby.

## Chinese Police Quell Protests in Tibetan Capital

Washington Post Service

BEIJING — The police fired tear gas at Tibetan protesters in Lhasa for the second consecutive day Tuesday as the authorities tried to control the most serious unrest since 1989, according to foreign business executives and other travelers in the Tibetan capital.

The protests were on a smaller scale than those Monday, when as many as 1,000 Tibetans marched through the streets to protest price increases and Chinese rule. Some protesters threw stones at government buildings and shops owned by ethnic Chinese, according to human-rights groups and accounts by Western travelers in the remote Himalayan region.

Chinese authorities appear to be using restraint in dealing with the protests, using tear gas instead of live ammunition, as had been their practice. Lhasa was reported quiet by the end of the day. Flights in and out of the city were operating, but parts of the city were closed.

The unrest in Tibet underscores China's human-rights problems in the isolated mountainous region at a time when Beijing most needs to put a positive spin on its human-rights record.

The demonstrations broke out a day after China celebrated the 42nd anniversary of Communist control over Tibet. The protests followed a weeklong visit to the region of a team of European diplomats during which they raised human-rights concerns.



Members of the UN force setting up mortars Tuesday near a polling place near Siem Reap, Cambodia. Shells had hit nearby.

# UN Calls Cambodia Vote Fair

By Philip Shenon  
New York Times Service

SIEM REAP, Cambodia — The head of the United Nations peacekeeping force in Cambodia described this week's internationally supervised elections as "free and fair" on Tuesday and said he would not rule out the involvement of the Khmer Rouge in whatever government followed the voting in this war-shattered nation.

Defying intimidation and threats of violence by both the Khmer Rouge and the incumbent government, more than 85 percent of Cambodia's 4.7 million registered voters had cast ballots by the end of voting Tuesday, with three days to go before the elections end.

The first results are expected to be released later this week. By designation the elections as free and fair, the director of the peacekeeping operation, Yasushi Akashi, took a critical step toward formal international recognition of the government that is expected to be formed later this year.

"This election has not been held in an ideal situation but, nevertheless, it has met the yardstick for a realistic standard of free and fair elections," Mr. Akashi, a veteran Japanese diplomat, said during a tour of polling stations in northwestern Cambodia.

Despite predictions by the United Nations that the voting would be marred by Khmer Rouge violence, including attacks on polling stations, the elections have so far been remarkably peaceful.

The Maoist-inspired Khmer Rouge dropped out of the UN peace process last year and had

threatened to sabotage the elections with violence. But the rebels' threat appears to have been hollow. Asked on Tuesday whether the Khmer Rouge might be allowed to

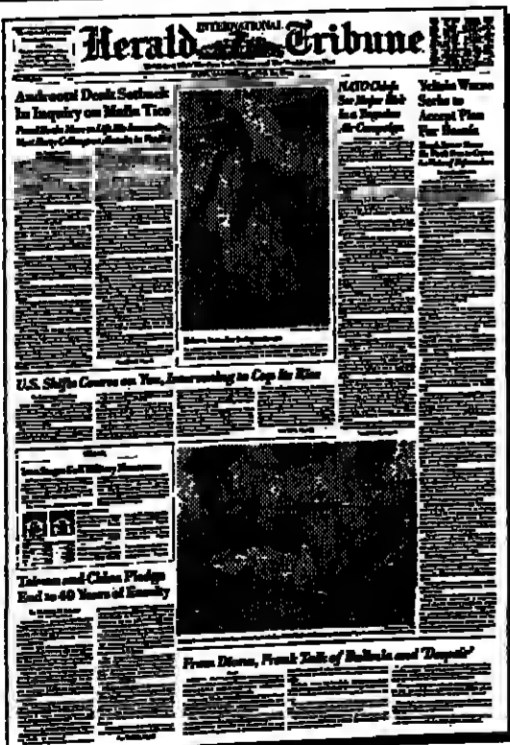
take part in a future government, Mr. Akashi said, "I think they can become a player in the political process in Cambodia on the basis of their full recognition of what has been achieved in this election."

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  - Beat Wittmann  
Head of European Equities, U.B.S. Asset Management, Zurich
- The equity session will also be addressed by a major U.S. fund manager.
- GERMAN CRISIS: MILESTONE FOR EUROPEAN RECOVERY?**
- Norbert Walter  
Chief Economist, Deutsche Bank, Frankfurt

The cocktail reception on the evening of June 9 is being hosted by Merrill Lynch Asset Management U.K.

**REGISTRATION INFORMATION:** The fee for the conference is £295 plus VAT at 17.5%. This includes lunch on both days, the cocktail reception on June 9 and all conference documentation. Fees are payable in advance and will be refunded less a £75 cancellation charge for any cancellation received in writing on or before June 1, after which time we regret there can be no refund. Substitutions, however, may be made at any time.

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INTERNATIONAL **Herald Tribune**

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**Halt Nuclear Tests**

The nuclear arms race has run its course, but America's nuclear laboratories and the Pentagon don't seem to know it. They want to resume testing this year. Test blasts may have made sense when it was important to deter a Soviet attack, but in today's changed climate they would set a terrible example for would-be proliferators.

**'The Gun Society'**

Last October a 16-year-old Japanese exchange student named Yoshihiro Hattori adopted an old American custom and got all dressed up for Halloween. He put on a white tux, a lot of jewelry and presto! he was Tony Manero, the swivel-hipped protagonist of "Saturday Night Fever."

**Recognize Macedonia**

As part of the latest allied plan for containing Serbian aggression in the Balkans, the United States is now considering stationing American ground troops in the republic of Macedonia. Such a preventive deployment outside the immediate war zone might be a good way for the United States to contribute to international peacekeeping efforts without trusting American ground troops into combat.

**A Compromise Deal**

Sentiment on Capitol Hill is hardening against President Bill Clinton's intention to remove the ban on gays in the military, and he must soon decide what to do. Key repeal advocates such as Representative Barney Frank believe that so much ground has been lost since January that Congress probably would enact the current ban into law if a total repeal were attempted.

**Freedom of Investment, Not Free Trade**

By Gregory Clark

TOKYO — Before America embarks on a trade war with Japan, someone needs to take a much closer look at the principles involved. A basic U.S. premise is that persistent trade deficits with Japan prove that Japan closes its markets to foreign products.

**A world of three economic blocs — the Americas, Europe-Africa and Asia — would be infinitely preferable to the trade and economic chaos now unfolding.**

markets are not much more closed than most. The problem is America's dogmatic belief in free trade. Free trade theory stems from the 19th century view that if everyone trades freely, trade balance occurs automatically. Shortages of resources such as labor and capital prevent any one country from dominating all production.

**Germany: The Grandchildren Need New Politics**

By Hans W. Manll

TRIER, Germany — When the Berlin Wall came down and the Soviet empire started to collapse, the Western countries became victims of an illusion. They watched the Warsaw Pact and Comecon going down the drain, Communist parties disintegrating and regimes crumbling, and they observed, stunned, as the Soviet Union disappeared with a whimper rather than a bang.

**Kashmir: Uncover Their Ugly Secret**

By James A. Goldston and Patricia Goseman

WASHINGTON — Soldiers set fire to houses and shot unarmed residents trying to escape. Detainees are tortured or shot dead in the night; civilians are raped and murdered. This is Kashmir, where Indian troops are locked in conflict with Muslim militants demanding independence or accession to Pakistan.

**With India-Pakistan relations strained, the West must strive to break a cycle of violence that threatens to spread.**

Western leaders must use the diplomatic and economic tools at hand to break a cycle of violence that threatens regional stability and raises the specter of nuclear confrontation. Twice since the subcontinent's partition in 1947, India and Pakistan have gone to war over Kashmir, India's only Muslim-majority state, which it has governed through repression, electoral fraud and petty partisan politics.

The East European countries are in trouble, despite their drastically devalued currencies. A situation in which all manufacturing activity gravitates to Asia is not just a theoretical possibility — it is happening right now.

Let's be realistic. A world of three economic blocs — the Americas, Europe and Africa, and Asia — would be infinitely preferable to the trade and economic chaos now unfolding.

International Herald Tribune



By NARANJO in El Universal (Mexico City), CFW Special

Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel, of the Free Democrats, who is to take over leadership of his small party soon, has seen his reputation shaken by his handling of the issue of Bundeswehr participation in UN-sponsored peacekeeping operations.

Behind all these tarnished careers lies a more worrying problem: the dearth of credible younger politicians. Of the big parties, only Mr. Kohl's Christian Democrats are today firmly led by an uncontested leader. This is probably more than coincidence; it may point to changes in the way parliamentary democracy functions here.

More stomachs will be turned by civil combat in Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union, Kashmir, the Middle East, Africa. It is not Western business to put out independence movements, or protect each one. But countries that will have to rescue new nations in trouble should take an advance peacekeeping step: impose a waiting period between declarations of independence and diplomatic recognition of UN membership.

The writer is a professor of international relations at the University of Trier and co-director of the Research Institute of the German Society for Foreign Affairs. He contributed this comment to the International Herald Tribune.

IN OUR PAGES: 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

**1893: Siam's Frontier**

LONDON — Mr. Verney, the English Secretary of the Siamese Legation, denied yesterday (May 25) the assertions in several French journals that Britain was guiding the policy of Siam and encouraging an aggressive attitude towards France.

**1918: Aid for Russia**

WASHINGTON — An attempt is soon to be made by the Allies to help Russia. Views are being exchanged to elaborate a project which will be approved by all the Allied Governments

**To Prevent Bosnias, Try a Test**

By A. M. Rosenthal

NEW YORK — Two tragedies are taking place in Bosnia. The first is the slaughter of its people. The second is the failure of the officials responsible to think seriously about how to prevent future slaughters in future Bosnias.

Europe helped set the fire of civil war and it should have been Europe's fire to put out. But Washington, ranging from silence to utter incomprehensibility, dithers away the one plan for peace.

Until then, Serbian and Croatian Christians of Bosnia had been living in the same small area with other Serbs and Croats who had converted to Islam centuries ago — not always in brotherhood but not at war with each other since the Nazis set many Croats and Muslims against Serbs.

Bosnia's present Muslims feared that with quick European recognition of Croatia, expansion-minded Serbia might swallow them. So they tried to get out, with a declaration of independence, even though they were less than half the population.

By then Bosnian Serbs had fought up from control of 40 percent of Bosnia to 70 percent. They knew they could not defend their own land. So they sent a message to Washington, in the clear: Go to hell.

Now Europe, Russia and the United States propose safe havens. By themselves these would lead to partition — a slice each for Serbs and Croats and one for Muslims, while it lasts. But if they are made the first step to carrying out the phased overall Vance-Owen plan, safe havens could keep alive the dream of the Muslims for one independent Bosnia.

So, to say it again: Since to save lives everybody has to pass an exam to drive a car, why not a test for nationhood, and help in passing it, to save a lot more lives? The need is plain, the warnings of December clear, and the only question is — after how many more Bosnias?

The New York Times

as well as by the Russian people. President Wilson's promise to aid Russia is an effort to help the Russians immediately to establish democracy on a firm basis, as well as to stop the German infiltration into that country.

**1943: Churchill Buoyant**

WASHINGTON — [From our New York edition:] Prime Minister Churchill, picturing the Allies as the stronger animal shaking the life out of the Axis, said today (May 25) that he and President Roosevelt have arrived at sound decisions for increasing the intensity of the war against Japan.

Vertical text on the right edge of the page, including "West. Ameri" and "ALL HOB THAT TOP".

OPINION

Angst, America's Mood du Jour

WASHINGTON — The mood swings of the American electorate are reflected in its attitudes toward its presidents, not only every four years but, it often seems, every four hours.

The government "as good as the people" is replaced in the Carter years by "malaise," followed soon by "mornings in America" with Ronald Reagan. The election of Operation Desert Storm is wiped out by the despair of recession, which, in turn, gives way to the giddiness of the Clinton promise — "the start of a new era," as Newsweek put it in January: "Nothing less than the end of a dark, cynical time that began after the Kennedy assassination and reached full flower in the Reagan-Bush years. It is an ambitious, expansive romantic vision; with the end of cynicism comes a national rebirth, the revival of hope."

Would that it were true. Unhappily, cynicism is a tough old bird, very much alive and well in this uneasy month of May. "Bill Clinton," a New York literary sophisticate tells an interviewer, "is another Reagan — a door-to-door salesman, a hick... All that hope stuff and wish stuff — it's just another way of conning people... I find it heart-breaking that people have faith in him."

Outside Manhattan, as well, the rebirth is not everywhere in evidence, and the hope revival plays

By Richard Harwood

to smaller congregations each day. In Washington, the columnist Mary McGrory pins a new label on the president, William the Procrastinator, hinting strongly that there may be no there there. So angst is again in style. Seven of 10 Americans think the nation is on the wrong track, headed for disaster or disappointment. Mr. Clinton, according to the columnist David Broder, is in the same fix with the public that George Bush was in a year before his defeat for re-election, meaning that "voters will not continue to support a president when they think the country is going to hell."

It is comforting, in a perverse way, to believe that the press may be partly to blame for this melancholia because that would validate certain shaly assumptions about journalists' eminence and influence. There is an assumption, for example, that we may have raised popular expectations too high with inflated talk of a "Clinton revolution" that would "reinvent government" in 100 days, drive the monied crowd from the temples of public life and bring to power a new generation of White Kids bearing degrees written in Latin from Oxford and Harvard and inexchangeable supplies of energy, creativity, goodwill and know-how.

True or false, the assumption is plausible, since we tend to be pushovers for sweet-talking Music Men with IQs sufficient to the task of making distinctions between sequestration and impoundment. Words to journalists are as nectar to bees. My heart still aches from political infatuation with Adlai Stevenson, a two-time loser who might have been a feckless leader but whose prose sprang from a poet's soul.

The press might also wish to reconsider its faith in the notion — some would now call it naive — that by exorcising "negativism" from our political campaigns and by focusing on high-minded issues, the "real choices" are made so obvious that by election day the nation knows precisely what to expect after the votes are counted.

Overlooked in that formulation is the "Read my lips" factor, sometimes called the "character issue," which allows for the eternal probability that the unalterable principles and policies of a campaign will acquire, once in office, the half-life of a cherry blossom: middle-class tax cuts, trade sanctions on China, deficit control, open arms for the Haitian refugees, air strikes on the Serbian devils, no-cost universal health care and so on. Still, if a new cycle of national depression is setting in, we journalists should not blame ourselves too much. People complain about the



press, deplore our "negativism" and the daily ration of "bad news" we hand out, but we are essentially irrelevant to the real problem. America, wallowing in wealth and material comforts unmatched in human history, has become a nation of whiners, submerged, as the critic Robert Hughes has written, in an "infantilized culture of complaint in which Big Daddy is always to blame." Big Daddy at the moment is Bill Clinton.

The Spirit but Also the Plan

By David S. Broder

WASHINGTON — Week after week, the mailbox is filled with letters of criticism and reflection. Here are two examples.

In late February, Holly Mamm Lockhart of South Bristol, Maine, objected in the "rather testy" tone she found in my reaction in President Bill Clinton. "You seem like all the Beltway news hawks who are appalled because they have been sidestepped by the administration, and whose wisdom and sage advice has not been sought by this fresh, new, enthusiastic gang."

"We are sick and tired of paralysis by analysis carried on by pre-retirement, jaded old hands like you and many of your prestigious colleagues," she said. America is "filled with hope, willing to take a chance, excited about possibilities... The news is not the plan; the news is the spirit... Perhaps you are too old to recognize news any more. I hope not."

I hope not, too. Certainly the spirit is important, but so is the plan. And the following letter illustrates why I think the president could have gone further than he did in cutting the budget deficit.

It came from Samuel B. Adams Jr. of Alexandria, Virginia, a retired Air Force colonel who said, "I feel it is unfair for the elderly to receive such a disproportionate share of the government largesse."

He proposes to scale down the cost-of-living allowance (COLA) for Social Security recipients and military retirees like himself, as their outside income rises. For example, if the inflation rate were 3 percent, those with less than \$25,000 of outside income would receive the full COLA; those between \$25,000 and \$50,000 would get 2 percent COLA; those between \$50,000 and \$75,000, 1 percent; and those above that level, no COLA at all.

The savings would be substantial, Mr. Adams said, adding that "these are the kind of real reductions that must be effected to put the deficit on a downward path and save our country. I would be personally affected by each proposal I have made but I think there are millions like me willing to do our fair share. All we need is leadership."

I think that readiness for fair, shared sacrifice can feed the spirit of hope that Mrs. Lockhart invoked so well. But leadership is the key.

Coke and Human Rights: Which Is the Real Thing?

By Goenawan Mohamad

JAKARTA — Each era poses its own questions. The basic question of today: Are human rights the same as Coca-Cola?

The reply, of course, depends on many factors. The response of Indonesians will vary according to their positions in society, the likely consequences of what they say, or the inclination toward a political career. Take your choice:

A. Human rights are the same as Coca-Cola. Both are foreign products for "any time, any place."

MEANWHILE

Both are exports and part of "foreign cultural imperialism" seeking to infiltrate our country, which, since the collapse of the Soviet Union, has become the fourth most populous on earth. So Coke and human rights should be rejected.

B. Human rights must be differentiated from Coca-Cola. But Indonesia is a market-oriented economy. Coca-Cola is a beverage enjoyed by many — if they have the money to buy it. Therefore it should be advertised unreservedly in Indonesia.

Human rights, on the other hand, should be carefully scrutinized, or even rejected, because they may not be proper for our culture and thus for our consumption. Indonesians are different, it seems, from Indians. Under Prime Minister Morarji Desai, who was famous for his simple life-style, India rejected Coca-Cola, and the famous American company could not invest there (although that has changed recently). At the same time, under Mr. Desai's leadership, respect for human rights was restored — maybe because this was needed more than "the Real Thing."

However, protection of human rights is not something that can be forced upon a country from the outside. The human rights advocacy of the United States may have good motives but America is a superpower. As such it cannot easily be accepted as a moral power; instead it will tend to be seen as a bully projecting a Flash Gordon image.

Flash, of course, was a white superhero who flies to weird places in outer space to liberate the people of Mongo from the tyranny of Ming. (A serious-minded French commentator once suggested that it was not without reason that the creator of Flash Gordon painted Ming's skin yellow, since Ming symbolized an Oriental despot.)

The universality of human rights remains problematical. Yet the most blatant abuses, such as torture, mass murder by a state, and expulsion of people from their homes, can certainly be judged through reference to a general consensus that is wider than that of Western culture. This consensus is drawn from the human family, particularly from its basic religious precepts.

Unfortunately, the state is always over us and surrounding us. So there is frequently tension between the state and its citizens. The problem is how to organize this tension so that it can function smoothly, without any drawn out feuds or ongoing lies.

But what about young nations such as Indonesia? There are those who suggest "guided democracy." There are those who say that the answer is "centralized democracy." A colleague of mine who was not easily impressed by these models told the following parable.

Two boys lived in a house without their parents. One day the older of the two said to his younger brother that the house was going to be run according to a special system of democracy. "Don't be afraid," said the older brother, "you and I will have identical rights."

"Like what, for example?" asked the younger boy. "Well, it's like this," said the older brother as he climbed up a tree. The younger one was waiting below. "See," said the older brother, as he spat on his brother's head. "That's my right as the leader. Now you can exercise your right as the subject. Spit on me!"

The writer, chief editor of Tempo magazine in Jakarta, contributed this comment to the International Herald Tribune.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Not UNESCO Figures

Regarding "AIDS in Thailand" (Letters, May 4):

John Knodel of the University of Michigan criticizes an article in your April 10 issue ("Child Prostitution Spreads, Partly Because of AIDS Fears"), which said that "one UNESCO study estimated that 2 million Thai females work as prostitutes and that 800,000 are adolescents and children."

For Mr. Knodel, "The UNESCO figures imply that an absurd proportion of girls (about one in four aged 13 to 17) and an implausible proportion of women are involved in commercial sex." He adds that "these unbelievably high estimates are typically cited by organizations with interests in encouraging public attention for their causes and are based on sheer guesswork."

The UNESCO case study on child prostitution and education in Thailand cites different estimates, from official and private sources, ranging from 96,379 to 2 million prostitutes, with the respective comments that "the figures have been criticized as being too low" or "the estimate... was criticized as being biased toward the high side."

So the cited estimates were not "UNESCO figures." Further, is UNESCO wrong to draw public attention to the role education can play to tackle the problem of child prostitution? Are Thai authorities wrong to share this concern with UNESCO, as the study shows?

E. S. C. ROSSENBAEL, Office of Public Information, UNESCO, Paris.

The Novel as Mirror

Regarding "A Novel Kind of Revenge — in Business Fiction, Japan Tells All" (May 18):

The popularity of economic novels in Japan shows how repressive Japan's corporate society is. Most workers are forced to remain silent for fear of dismissal. The popularity

of economic novels is a clear sign of our desire and silent cry for change. IWAKAWA YASUHISA, Chiba, Japan.

Okinawa and America

Since the end of World War II, Okinawa has served as the largest U.S. military base in the Far East. During the Cold War, Okinawa was vital to Washington's strategies to contain Soviet and Chinese communism. During the Vietnam War, it was a major staging area. Today, the gigantic U.S. military complex remains.

With Okinawa's return to Japanese sovereignty on May 15, 1972, the Okinawan people hoped that Japan's postwar Peace Constitution, which renounced war as an instrument of national policy, would lead to the removal or substantial reduction of the American military bases. But today, 21 years later, the American military is still a predominant presence. Although Okinawa covers less than 1 percent of Japan, more than half of all U.S. military personnel in Japan are here. The American bases occupy 11 percent of the total land area of the prefecture.

These bases cause excessive crowding in an already densely populated prefecture. They cause noise, water and air pollution. Live ammunition exercises cause psychological damage in communities near artillery ranges. These exercises also destroy forests and mountains, which in turn lead to the destruction of ecosystems.

The American bases hinder Okinawa's economic development. (Unemployment in Okinawa is the highest in Japan.) Inaccessibility of land hinders tourism, the main industry in Okinawa, as well as construction of schools, housing, parks, roads and farms. President Bill Clinton has often indicated the importance of change and renewal. The Okinawan people earnestly hope that such change will result in the reduction and realignment of U.S. military bases. I have repeatedly called on the

governments of both Japan and the United States to resolve the problem. I visited Washington in July 1991 to enlist the help of U.S. officials. There has been little progress, and so I am undertaking a second Washington visit.

It is not that we are anti-American. The U.S. military presence has brought a number of welcome cultural, educational and social influences. In the future, we hope that this presence can be replaced by more peaceful and mutually beneficial exchanges with the American people, which will bring our two lands, facing each other across the Pacific, much closer together.

MASAHIDE OTA, Governor, Okinawa Prefecture, Naha, Okinawa, Japan.

Churchill Came Later

Regarding "Interests, Not Outrage" (Letters, April 27):

The writer states that "Britain, under Churchill, declared war on Germany." When Britain and France declared war on Germany, on Sept. 3, 1939, the British prime minister was Neville Chamberlain. Churchill was not even a cabinet member, though he swiftly thereafter was named first lord of the admiralty. Chamberlain remained prime minister until May 10, 1940, when, with the military situation catastrophic, Churchill replaced him.

H. WALSER, Basel, Switzerland.

When Others Light Up

Lynda Richardson criticizes America's progress against the evil of smoking but makes no mention of the tremendous inconsistencies and prejudice against nonsmokers in Europe. I would like to be able to enjoy a smoke-free meal in Europe. I would like to fly on a smoke-free airplane within Europe. I would like to be in the airport without a gas mask. I would like a list of truly smoke-free restaurants and businesses that I could patronize.

BOB BROOKS, Wiesbaden, Germany.

Advertisement for Turkish Airlines featuring a large image of Istanbul and a flight map. Text includes: 'ISTANBUL Make a point of it. With Turkish Airlines.' and 'For centuries, Istanbul was the centre of ancient civilisation. And today it's easy to see why. Although much has changed, Istanbul is still very central when travelling to the Middle East or to Asia. And quite possibly very central to the enjoyment of your trip as well. Especially on Turkish Airlines. You'll have the comfort of our modern fleet of planes which offer you extra leg room and wide Business Class seating. Add to this our warm Turkish hospitality, and you just may find yourself thinking we're an important centre of modern civilisation too.' The flight map shows routes from Istanbul to Ankara, Baghdad, Beirut, Ashgabad, Tehran, Almaty, and Bishkek.

Advertisement for 'The New York Times News in Review'. Text includes: 'ALL THE HOBOCTH THAT'S FIT TO PRINT' and 'When decision-makers in the former USSR need authoritative reporting, they turn to the same news source you do. Every two weeks, The New York Times News in Review gives leaders in government and industry Russian-language access to top stories from The Times. News in Review has a print run of 120,000, including controlled circulation of 6,000 copies hand-delivered to the most influential officials and managers. For information on how you can use this unique medium to share your company's HOBOCTH, call Ann Blinikova, Publisher, at (212) 556-1721. The New York Times NEWS IN REVIEW TEL: (212) 556-1721 FAX: (212) 556-4281'.

# Hillary Clinton: From the Politics of Meaning to the Realities of Legislation

**Continued from Page 1**  
don't know what our work is, because they don't see us plowing a field or making a quilt. We go off and push papers and then come home and try to explain it. Our relatives age and die often in places far away from our homes. We've compartmentalized so much of our lives that trying to find even the time to think about how all of it fits together has become harder."

Mr. Jones was a dedicated proponent of the idea, then and now the driving force of the United Methodist Church, that Christian duty lay in taking a direct, helpful interest in the lives of the less fortunate. He organized the white, suburban children of Park Ridge to help provide baby sitting for the children of migrant workers in the Chicago area. Hillary was among the students he took on an eye-opening visit to talk with young black and Hispanic gang members at a community center on Chicago's South Side and also among those taken to meet the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., then working on his ultimately failed effort to breach the city's racial divisions.

Now, asked if she has always been "impelled by what she called, in a recent interview with The Washington Post, "a burning desire" to "make the world... better for everybody," Mrs. Clinton says, with a slight, self-conscious laugh: "Yeah, I always have. I have not

always known what it meant, but I have always had it." Then, on a moment's reflection, she amends her answer in a way that shows clearly the effect Mr. Jones's field trips had on the sensibilities of a child of well-off suburbia: "Especially since I was in junior high and high school and got a sense of what people were up against, and how lucky I had been, a sense, you know, that I was a very lucky person in what I had been given."

But there was more to Hillary's education than the inculcation of a guilt-induced sense of obligation. Mr. Jones also exposed her to the writings of Dr. Niebuhr, who argued that the tragedy of history proved that the hope for a better world could not depend on any sentimental view of human behavior but must encompass the legitimate use of power.

"My sense of Hillary is that she realizes absolutely the truth of the human condition, which is that you cannot depend on the basic nature of man to be good and you cannot depend entirely on moral suasion to make it good," Mr. Jones says. "You have to use power. And there is nothing wrong with wielding power in the pursuit of policies that will add to the human good. I think Hillary knows this. She is very much the sort of Christian who understands that the use of power to achieve social good is legitimate."

There is a Niebuhrian hardness

under the fuzzy edges of Mrs. Clinton's discourses on the politics of virtue — an unashamed acknowledgment that some sorts of behavior are acceptable and other sorts are not, that every right is married to a responsibility, that a civilized society must be willing to condemn those who act in ways destructive of that society.

Mrs. Clinton argues passionately for a "reaffirmation of responsible behavior rooted in what I view as a value system in which people respect one another and in which they care for one another."

She offers an example of what she sees in society as the opposite sort of value system. "We have two friends who just moved out of a big city to a smaller town, because they found that their high-school daughter was basically being stunted because she had a curfew, she was not permitted to run wild with other kids, she was not permitted to go out to dance clubs till 2 or 3 o'clock in the morning. She was basically being made fun of for being a good kid."

"Now, it is not government's fault that the parents of those other kids are letting their kids engage in behavior and court dangers that they are not emotionally or psychologically prepared to do," she says. "Rather, it is the fault of individuals, affluent parents in this society who drop their 10- and 11-year-olds off at the mall, that let their 13- and 14- and 15-year-olds go off

to places that they've never met the parents of the kids, they've never met the kids or anything like that — that is a failure on the part of the adult community to care for our children."

A critical aspect of Mrs. Clinton's analysis suggests the rejection of rights-based liberalism as it now exists. She favors, as does the presi-

**'It is a real fallacy to jump from what we do in our individual and work lives to expect us not to have standards in our social community lives.'**

Hillary Rodham Clinton

dent, welfare reform, and she argues that society has extended too freely rights without responsibilities, which has led to a great decline in the standard of behavior.

She cites a recent article by Daniel Patrick Moynihan on what the New York senator called "defining deviancy down." "Senator Moynihan argues very convincingly that what we have in effect done is get used to more and more deviant behavior around us, because we haven't wanted to deal with it," she says. "But — by god! — it is deviant! It is deviant if you have any standards by which you expect to be judged."

This line of argument, central to Mrs. Clinton's view, is, of course, precisely what social conservatives

have been saying for years. Social liberals, who dominate the national Democratic Party, have held that it is not the place of either government or society to lay down a set of behavioral standards based on moral absolutes and that individual freedom necessitates moral relativism. "I think that is a theoretical and

there is a variation of the Golden Rule. And even for the nonreligious, it is a tenet of people who believe in humanistic principles." We could do a lot worse, she says, than live according to the Golden Rule. "That means: Should we let whole sections of our city be like Beirut? Would we want that to be the place where we live with our children? Of course not. Well then, what would be reasonable policies to pursue in order to avoid that? Would we want young children to be exposed to a lot of the dangers that might lead to drug addiction or abuse or violence or all of the problems we face, if there were ways we could band together as adults to help them avoid that? Of course, we much would prefer that."

It is at this point that a number of difficult questions arise: If it is necessary to remake society, why should Hillary Rodham Clinton get the job?

Can someone who helped lead the very generation that threw out the old ways of moral absolutes and societal standards now lead the charge back to the future?

At Wellesley College, from 1965 to 1969, Hillary Rodham moved away from the conservatism of her parents and embraced the predominant attitudes of a campus that was steeped in the tradition of liberal, social service-oriented Protestantism and heady with the conviction that the young people of the

moment were fated to remake the world.

By the time she graduated from Wellesley to head on to Yale Law School, Hillary Rodham had become a radical, in the true sense of the word: dedicated to the imperative of profound societal change, and confident in her generation's ability to make that change.

She began thinking then about the ideas she is giving voice to now. The commencement speech delivered by Hillary Rodham for the class of 1969 is the direct ancestor of the Austin speech delivered by the Hillary Rodham Clinton of today.

Then, she spoke of "attempting to come to grasp with some of the marinate, maybe even inarticulate, things that we're feeling." Today, she speaks of the struggle to "put into words what is often for most of us inarticulate or inarticulate."

Then, she spoke of the attempt "to forge an identity in this particular age." Today, she speaks of "re-defining who we are as human beings in this post-modern age."

Then, she spoke of "our questions, our questions about our institutions, about our colleges, about our churches, about our government." Today, she asks "what do our governmental institutions mean? What do our lives in today's world mean?"

At the heart of the Wellesley speech, she argued for what she then called the "experiment in human living" and would come to call "excessive individualism" and "rights without responsibility."

The "prevailing, acquisitive and competitive corporate life," she said, "is not for us. We're searching for a more immediate, ecstatic and penetrating mode of living."

When asked if the social experiments of the 1960s and 1970s led to the systemic problems she sees in the 1990s, Mrs. Clinton replies, "I don't know if it's unfair to say that, but it's probably incomplete."

The roots of the problems go back farther and spread wider than that, she says. But still, she carefully acknowledges that the questioning and searching of her generation did produce some "excesses" and "wrong decisions."

It is suggested that for Hillary Rodham Clinton, a career liberal activist and former seeker of ecstatic living, to sound the call for a return to traditional ethics will strike some people as a bit much. As easy, moralistic preaching. After all, the last person who tried this sort of thing, Dan Quayle, was mocked for his pains. And he, at least, had been elected.

The first lady jumps hard on the point.

"That's irrelevant to me," she snaps back. "I know that no matter what I did — if I did nothing, if I spent my entire day totally disengaged from what was going on around me — I'd be criticized for that. I mean, it's a no-win deal, no matter what I do, or try to do."

"But from my perspective, there are millions of people who are worried about the same things I'm worried about. I don't care who gets the credit. I don't care who has to be criticized in order to move this conversation forward. I want to live in a place again where I can walk down any street without being afraid. I want to be able to take my daughter to a park at any time of day or night in the summer time and remember what I used to be able to do when I was a little kid."

Which brings up the second difficult question.

What exactly can Mrs. Clinton and the new politics do about it all? The answer to that will remain unknown for some time, but it is clear that there will be immense

practical problems in making the transition from the theory to the practice of politics.

The reason harkens back to the question of language. Several weeks ago, when Michael Lerner wrote Mrs. Clinton's invitation to come to the White House and talk about the politics of meaning, they agreed that, he says, "the question was how to take, in a practical, hard-nosed way, the sum of the ethical ideas of the Bible and apply them to this moment in time."

They fell into disagreement, however, as soon as they began talking about how that might be done. "I proposed that the Clinton administration establish a policy where, for any proposed legislation or new program, there would have to be written first an Ethical and Community Environmental Impact Report, which would require each agency to report how the proposed legislation or new program would impact on shaping the character and the caring and sharing of the community covered by that agency."

Mrs. Clinton, Mr. Lerner says, "liked the idea, but was worried about using words like 'caring' and 'sharing' and 'love' in talking about government policies. And this concern became the central question of our discussion: Would the press kill us on this?"

Understandably humorous Big Brotherism is, in fact, a hallmark of Mr. Lerner's ideas for implementing the politics of meaning. In the May-June issue of his magazine, Tikkun, he offered a series of specific proposals by which the Clinton administration could turn the theory of the politics of meaning into reality in the workplace.

These included: that the Department of Labor order "every workplace" in America "to create a mission statement explaining its function and what conception of the common good it is serving and how it is doing so"; sponsor "Honor or Labor" campaigns designed to highlight the honor due to people for the contributions to the common good; and "train a corps of union personnel, worker representatives and psychotherapists in the relevant skills to assist developing a new spirit of cooperation, mutual caring and dedication to work."

The reason Mr. Lerner's proposals for the application of the politics of meaning focus so heavily on bureaucratic intricacies is the same reason Mrs. Clinton is struggling still with words.

Any clearly expressed, serious proposal to do anything to improve public values runs immediately against the fundamentals of social liberalism.

Mrs. Clinton argues that the concepts of liberalism and conservatism don't really mean anything anymore and that the politics of the New Age is moving beyond ideology. But that is not at all true in the area of values where she seeks to venture. It is easy for social conservatives, who have been writing and debating for years about the moral values Mrs. Clinton is now addressing, to speak blantly about what is morally right and what is not. Conservatism is purposely, explicitly judgmental. But liberalism, as defined by Mrs. Clinton's generation and those who came after, has increasingly moved away from the entire concept of judgment and embraced instead the expansion of rights and the tolerance of diversity.

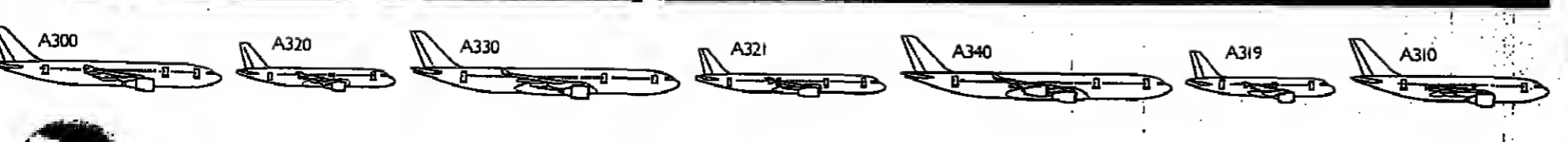
Returning to moral judgment as a basis for governmental policy must inevitably mean curtailing what have come to be regarded as sacrosanct rights and admitting a limit to tolerance. And that will bring the politics of meaning hard against the meaning of politics.

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# NASDAQ

**Tuesday's Prices**  
NASDAQ prices as of 4 p.m. New York time. This list compiled by the AP, consists of the 1,000 most traded securities in terms of dollar value. It is updated twice a year.

12 Month High	12 Month Low	Stock	Div	Yld	PE	52 Wk High	52 Wk Low	Change
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0

12 Month High	12 Month Low	Stock	Div	Yld	PE	52 Wk High	52 Wk Low	Change
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0

12 Month High	12 Month Low	Stock	Div	Yld	PE	52 Wk High	52 Wk Low	Change
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0

12 Month High	12 Month Low	Stock	Div	Yld	PE	52 Wk High	52 Wk Low	Change
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0

12 Month High	12 Month Low	Stock	Div	Yld	PE	52 Wk High	52 Wk Low	Change
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0

## Tin at Its Lowest Since Early '70s

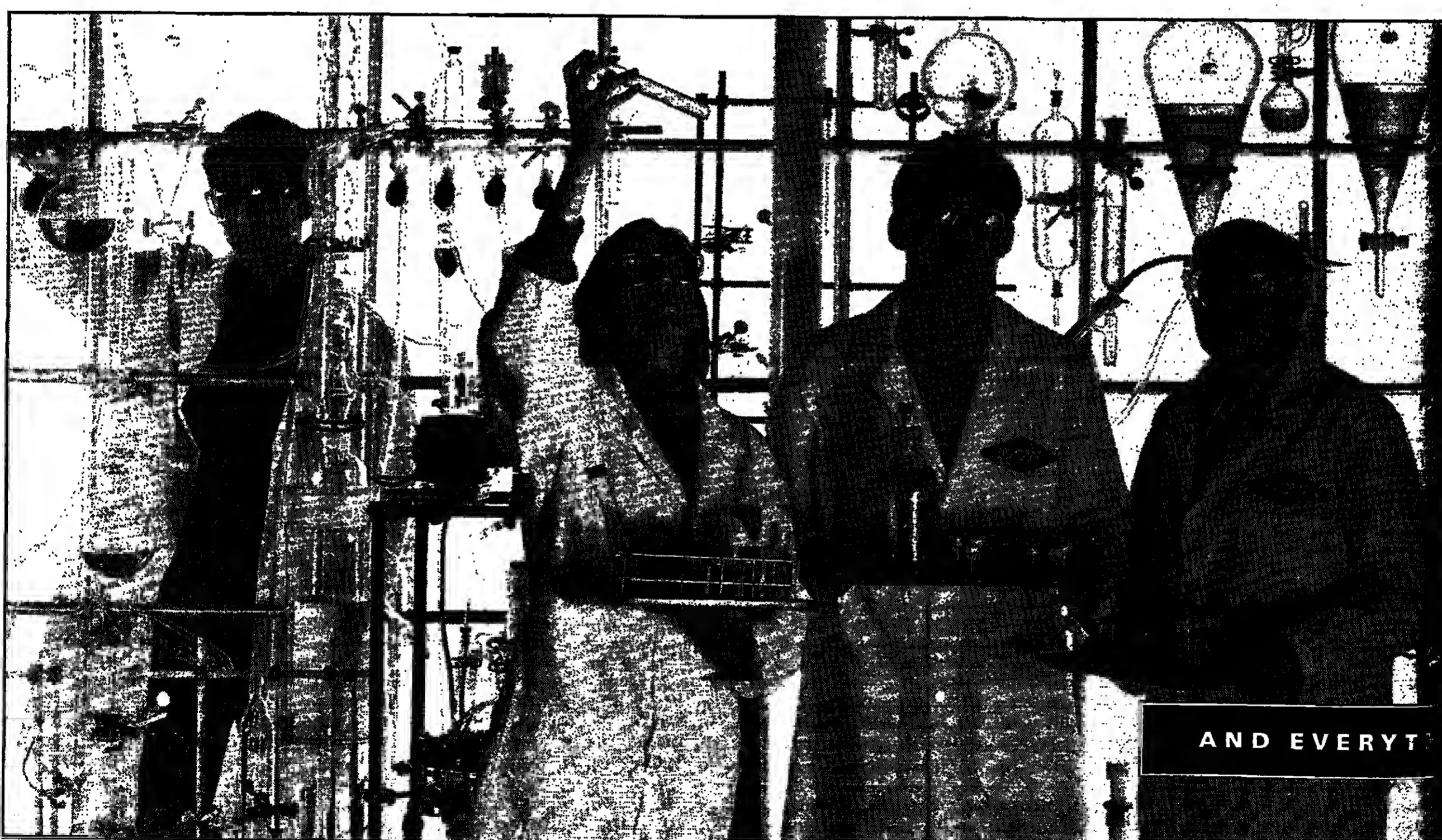
**Reuters**  
LONDON — The depressed tin market fell Tuesday to its lowest levels since the early 1970s and analysts said producers could expect further losses.

Tin is suffering from excess supply, rising stocks and poor demand, and shipments from the former Eastern Bloc are rising. It also faces stiff competition from easily recycled aluminum for its main end-use in beverage cans.

"We keep saying that tin will have its day some day, but that day never comes around," said Eitan Werthington of S.G. Warburg Securities.

Tin for delivery in three months slumped to \$5,440 a ton at one stage on Tuesday morning on the London Metal Exchange, compared with \$5,470 on Monday evening, well below January's high of \$6,130.

12 Month High	12 Month Low	Stock	Div	Yld	PE	52 Wk High	52 Wk Low	Change
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0
100	80	Alcoa	0.00	0.00	10	100	80	0



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Nestlé c  
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# AMEX

**Tuesday's Closing**  
 Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street and do not reflect late trades elsewhere. Via The Associated Press

17 Month High	Low	Stock	Div	Yld	PE	1992	High	Low	Latest	Chg
17.50	17.00	AA				1.01	11.11	11.11	11.11	
17.50	17.00	ABC				1.01	11.11	11.11	11.11	
17.50	17.00	DEF				1.01	11.11	11.11	11.11	
17.50	17.00	GHI				1.01	11.11	11.11	11.11	
17.50	17.00	JKL				1.01	11.11	11.11	11.11	
17.50	17.00	MNO				1.01	11.11	11.11	11.11	
17.50	17.00	PQR				1.01	11.11	11.11	11.11	
17.50	17.00	STU				1.01	11.11	11.11	11.11	
17.50	17.00	VWX				1.01	11.11	11.11	11.11	
17.50	17.00	YZA				1.01	11.11	11.11	11.11	

17 Month High	Low	Stock	Div	Yld	PE	1992	High	Low	Latest	Chg
17.50	17.00	ABC				1.01	11.11	11.11	11.11	
17.50	17.00	DEF				1.01	11.11	11.11	11.11	
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17.50	17.00	PQR				1.01	11.11	11.11	11.11	
17.50	17.00	STU				1.01	11.11	11.11	11.11	
17.50	17.00	VWX				1.01	11.11	11.11	11.11	
17.50	17.00	YZA				1.01	11.11	11.11	11.11	

# Airlines Decry EC Plan as 'Sellout'

**By Tom Buerkle**  
*International Herald Tribune*  
**BRUSSELS**—European airlines blasted an EC proposal on airline reservation systems on Tuesday, saying the measure was a "sellout" that would give American Airlines an unfair advantage in Europe.

The airlines contend that a proposal by the EC Commission to modify rules governing reservations systems would leave AMR Corp.'s American Airlines with the ability to abuse its ownership of the Sabre reservations system by looking at the flight and reservations data entered by competitors.

The competing European reservations systems, Galileo and Amadeus, are owned by consortiums of airlines. Each airline can access only its own data, not that of its rivals.

"It's a tremendous power if you know what your competitors are doing," said Karl-Heinz Neumeister, secretary general of the Association of European Airlines.

The association and representatives of five European carriers—Swissair, KLM, Alitalia, Air France and Iberia—met Tuesday with Transport Commissioner Abel Matutes and Competition Commissioner Karel van Miert but failed to persuade them to change the proposal. Barring any last-minute success at lobbying their national governments, the measure is expected to be adopted by a meeting of EC transport ministers on June 7 and 8.

According to commission officials, who spoke on condition of anonymity, the commissioners were miffed that the airlines sought to block the proposal at such a late date, after member states had already signaled their support of the rule change.

One official contended that although separating airlines from operational control of their reservations was an "ideal situation," the proposed rule changes contain provisions that should guard against any abuses.

But Mr. Neumeister said the refusal to drop the proposal was "a sellout of European interests, it's legislation to accommodate one of our competitors."

Sources said Air France and Iberia were among the strongest opponents of the proposal. Both companies, which have large domestic markets, have refused to participate in Sabre because of fears of giving sensitive information to American Airlines. That stance is threatened, however,

by a separate commission proposal that would force airlines to participate in all available reservations systems to increase competition.

Separately, the EC Commission announced it was creating a wise men's committee of airline industry experts to look into the problems of the loss-plagued industry, along the lines of the federal panel President Bill Clinton has established in the United States.

Mr. Neumeister said there was concern in Europe that the U.S. panel would prop up the ailing industry at the expense of foreign competitors. "Either you support them with money or you support them with rules," he said. "These rules are usually protectionist."

European airlines also are worried about U.S. efforts to negotiate liberal bilateral air agreements with EC countries. The Netherlands, which has a negligible domestic market and more to gain overseas, has concluded such a deal. But France recently terminated its existing agreement with the United States, saying it was tilted in favor of the major American carriers, while Germany has complained about the inroads of U.S. airlines but continues to abide by its bilateral agreement.

17 Month High	Low	Stock	Div	Yld	PE	1992	High	Low	Latest	Chg
17.50	17.00	ABC				1.01	11.11	11.11	11.11	
17.50	17.00	DEF				1.01	11.11	11.11	11.11	
17.50	17.00	GHI				1.01	11.11	11.11	11.11	
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# NYSE

## Tuesday's Closing

Tables include the closing prices up to the closing on Wall Street and do not reflect late trades elsewhere. Via The Associated Press

12 Month High Low Stock Div Yld PE Ratio

12 Month High	12 Month Low	Stock	Div	Yld	PE Ratio
125.00	120.00	IBM	1.50	1.20	15.00
110.00	105.00	Microsoft	0.00	0.00	20.00
90.00	85.00	Apple	0.00	0.00	25.00
80.00	75.00	Oracle	0.00	0.00	30.00
70.00	65.00	Sun	0.00	0.00	35.00
60.00	55.00	Lucent	0.00	0.00	40.00
50.00	45.00	Motorola	0.00	0.00	45.00
40.00	35.00	AT&T	0.00	0.00	50.00
30.00	25.00	Verizon	0.00	0.00	55.00
20.00	15.00	WorldCom	0.00	0.00	60.00
10.00	5.00	Qwest	0.00	0.00	65.00

# JAL Accuses U.S. Airlines Of Unfair Competition

By Martin Tolchin  
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — Susumu Yamaji, chairman of Japan Air Lines, accused U.S. airlines Tuesday of predatory pricing, the same kind of ultra-competitive business practices that American automakers and electronics manufacturers have accused the Japanese of using.

Below-cost fares initiated by U.S. carriers have undermined the financial health of his company, Mr. Yamaji said, adding, "Predatory pricing must be ended."

To compete against American carriers, Mr. Yamaji said, "We cannot make any profit because the fare is not enough to cover the costs to Japan Airlines," which posted a \$400 million loss last year.

Mr. Yamaji said that the deregulation of U.S. airlines had unleashed a no-holds-barred competitiveness that threatened to devour overseas rivals. He said that flights between the U.S. and Japan had only a 70 percent occupancy, and exhorted the United States "to stop the excessive capacity mainly provided by U.S. carriers."

Mr. Yamaji also said that Japan Airlines is looking for a global partner.

Japan would impose sanctions against the United States if Washington made good on its threat to impose sanctions on Japan over restrictions on Asian routes.

• The "open skies" advocated by the U.S. government, under which there would be no restrictions on flights between two countries, would exacerbate America's domination of routes between the United States and Japan.

Mr. Yamaji offered his views in an interview between visits to U.S. officials and congressional leaders. He is in Washington seeking a renegotiation of the 1952 agreement between the United States and Japan, signed when the postwar Japanese airline industry was in its infancy and Americans visiting Japan far outnumbered Japanese visiting the United States.

But now the positions are reversed. In 1990, 3.2 million Japanese flew to the United States, compared with 560,000 American visitors to Japan. Nevertheless, American carriers continue to dominate the trans-Pacific route, and account for 69 percent of the traffic between the two countries, while Japanese carriers account for only 31 percent.

Mr. Yamaji said that Japan's goal was a 50-50 sharing of these routes.

To make matters worse, Mr. Yamaji said, U.S. carriers are now using Japan as a hub for Asian travel. U.S. carriers occupy 804 time slots a week at Tokyo's Narita airport, he said, of which 272 are for destinations beyond Japan. By comparison, Japanese carriers occupy 856 time slots at the airport, of which 303 are between the United States and Japan.

12 Month High	12 Month Low	Stock	Div	Yld	PE Ratio
15.00	12.00	Boeing	0.00	0.00	15.00
12.00	10.00	Embraer	0.00	0.00	18.00
10.00	8.00	Airbus	0.00	0.00	20.00
8.00	6.00	Delta	0.00	0.00	25.00
6.00	4.00	American	0.00	0.00	30.00
4.00	2.00	Southwest	0.00	0.00	35.00
2.00	1.00	JetBlue	0.00	0.00	40.00
1.00	0.50	Allegiant	0.00	0.00	45.00
0.50	0.20	Spirit	0.00	0.00	50.00
0.20	0.10	Frontier	0.00	0.00	55.00

12 Month High	12 Month Low	Stock	Div	Yld	PE Ratio
10.00	8.00	United	0.00	0.00	15.00
8.00	6.00	Northwest	0.00	0.00	18.00
6.00	4.00	Alaska	0.00	0.00	20.00
4.00	2.00	Allegiant	0.00	0.00	25.00
2.00	1.00	Spirit	0.00	0.00	30.00
1.00	0.50	Frontier	0.00	0.00	35.00
0.50	0.20	JetBlue	0.00	0.00	40.00
0.20	0.10	Delta	0.00	0.00	45.00
0.10	0.05	American	0.00	0.00	50.00
0.05	0.02	Southwest	0.00	0.00	55.00

12 Month High	12 Month Low	Stock	Div	Yld	PE Ratio
10.00	8.00	Delta	0.00	0.00	15.00
8.00	6.00	American	0.00	0.00	18.00
6.00	4.00	Southwest	0.00	0.00	20.00
4.00	2.00	JetBlue	0.00	0.00	25.00
2.00	1.00	Spirit	0.00	0.00	30.00
1.00	0.50	Frontier	0.00	0.00	35.00
0.50	0.20	Allegiant	0.00	0.00	40.00
0.20	0.10	Delta	0.00	0.00	45.00
0.10	0.05	American	0.00	0.00	50.00
0.05	0.02	Southwest	0.00	0.00	55.00

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1.00	0.50	Frontier	0.00	0.00	35.00
0.50	0.20	JetBlue	0.00	0.00	40.00
0.20	0.10	Delta	0.00	0.00	45.00
0.10	0.05	American	0.00	0.00	50.00
0.05	0.02	Southwest	0.00	0.00	55.00

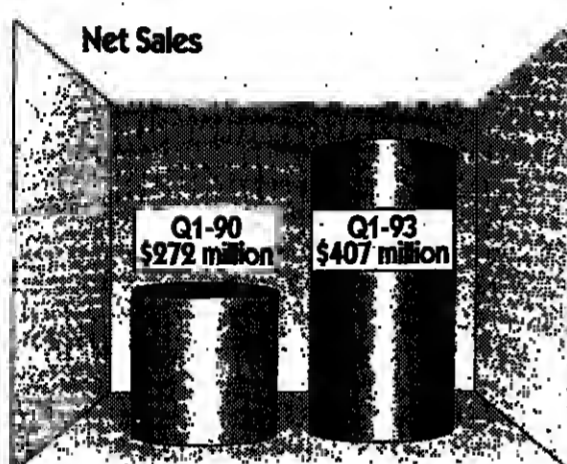
12 Month High	12 Month Low	Stock	Div	Yld	PE Ratio
10.00	8.00	Delta	0.00	0.00	15.00
8.00	6.00	American	0.00	0.00	18.00
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4.00	2.00	Allegiant	0.00	0.00	25.00
2.00	1.00	Spirit	0.00	0.00	30.00
1.00	0.50	Frontier	0.00	0.00	35.00
0.50	0.20	JetBlue	0.00	0.00	40.00
0.20	0.10	Delta	0.00	0.00	45.00
0.10	0.05	American	0.00	0.00	50.00
0.05	0.02	Southwest	0.00	0.00	55.00

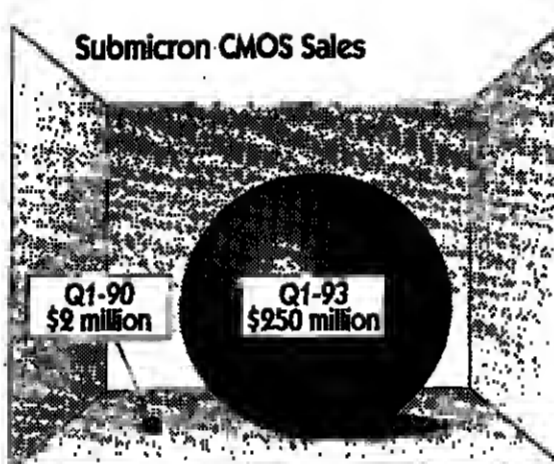
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0.20	0.10	Delta	0.00	0.00	45.00
0.10	0.05	American	0.00	0.00	50.00
0.05	0.02	Southwest	0.00	0.00	55.00

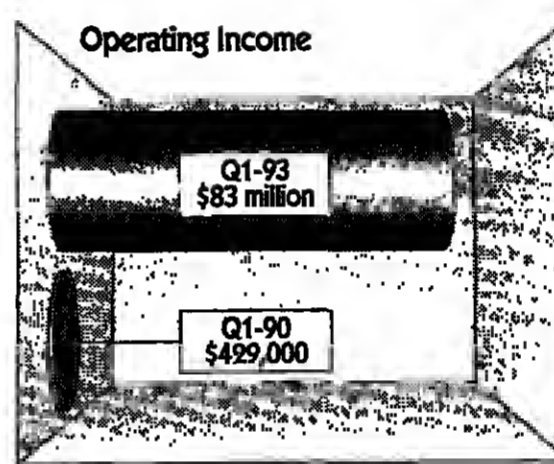
# What's Really Up At AMD:



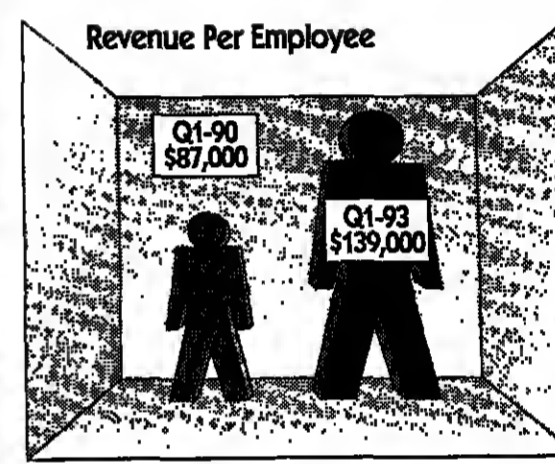
What a difference 1,065 days make. A difference of nearly 150%, to be exact.



Ironically, the smaller our transistors get, the bigger we get.



Saying that AMD has improved its earnings statement is something of an understatement.



The huge increase in average revenue per employee is irrelevant in one sense — we don't have any average employees.

## What's up?

Just about everything. Sure, the news of our financial success has turned heads, but there's a lot more than that going on at AMD. And in spite of all the hoopla surrounding our recent Am486™ announcements, 70% of the record-breaking revenues pictured above came from non-X86 microprocessors.

### Our biggest advance is completely invisible to the naked eye.

Working with Hewlett-Packard, AMD is developing a production-ready 0.35 micron CMOS logic technology. By the end of 1994, we will be producing logic devices and microprocessors with 12- to 15-million transistors — up to 15 times more than our initial Am486 devices. In 1995 we'll bring



AMD's Submicron Development Center is pushing the limits of CMOS — down to nearly 1/3 millionth of an inch. And shrinking.

two state-of-the-art submicron CMOS fabrication facilities on line, reflecting a capital commitment in excess of \$1 billion.

By building microprocessors, memories and microcontrollers that are more powerful and cost effective, we're supplying devices for the coming revolution in portable computing and mobile communications.

### Putting it all together.

AMD is taking the leadership role in many enabling technologies that will fundamentally change the way the world works.

We've already taken a giant step forward in networking. Our new single-chip Ethernet controllers are creating a whole new generation of PCs that are network-ready right out of the box.

Our low-voltage flash

memory products have created a revolution in memory. And they are showing up in everything from shirt-pocket PCs to intelligent cellular phones.

And speaking of mobile technologies, our 3-Volt Am386\* microprocessors are redefining power management for portables. They've even been singled out for technical excellence by *PC Magazine* — taking on, and beating, the best in the industry.

### Raising standards, not following them.

While a lot of our success is based on making existing technology work better, looking to the future is nothing unusual at AMD.

Take the PhoX™ controller we developed for Sony's newest cordless phone. Incorporating the CT2 international digital cordless standard, it's the

first in a whole family of cordless communications solutions.

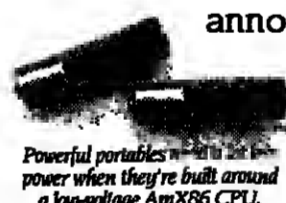
And on July 4th — a most appropriate date, in our minds — we will announce the arrival of 100% independently derived microcode for our Am486 CPUs.

This gives us technological independence to advance the current X86 standard. And we're already at work on the next two generations of X86 CPUs.

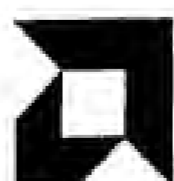
Some might say we've reached the height of success over the last three years. But we're just getting started.

In the '90s, our third decade, we find ourselves with everything in place to provide our customers with the products they need to succeed.

And while many may consider our achievements spectacular, we accept them as mere benchmarks for our future performance in the '90s.



Powerful portables — not to mention power when they're built around a low-voltage Am386 CPU.



## Advanced Micro Devices

NYSE

Tuesday's Closing
Tables include the nonwire prices up to the closing on Wall Street and do not reflect late trade elsewhere. Via The Associated Press

(Continued)

Table with columns: 12 Month High, Low, Stock, Div, Yld, PE, High, Low, Last, Change

Table with columns: 12 Month High, Low, Stock, Div, Yld, PE, High, Low, Last, Change

Table with columns: 12 Month High, Low, Stock, Div, Yld, PE, High, Low, Last, Change

Table with columns: 12 Month High, Low, Stock, Div, Yld, PE, High, Low, Last, Change

Table with columns: 12 Month High, Low, Stock, Div, Yld, PE, High, Low, Last, Change

Table with columns: 12 Month High, Low, Stock, Div, Yld, PE, High, Low, Last, Change

NYSE High-Lows

NEW HIGHS 44

Table listing new high stocks and their prices

NEW LOWS 17

Table listing new low stocks and their prices

AMEX High-Lows

NEW HIGHS 17

Table listing new high stocks on AMEX

NEW LOWS 5

Table listing new low stocks on AMEX

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INTERNATIONAL FUNDS

May 25, 1993

Quotations supplied by funds listed. Most asset value quotations are supplied by the Funds listed with the exception of those quoted based on latest prices.

The marginal symbols indicate frequency of quotations supplied: (d) - daily; (w) - weekly; (bi) - bi-monthly; (v) - regularly (once a quarter weekly); (m) - monthly.

Main table of international fund data with columns: Fund Name, Div, Yld, PE, High, Low, Last, Change

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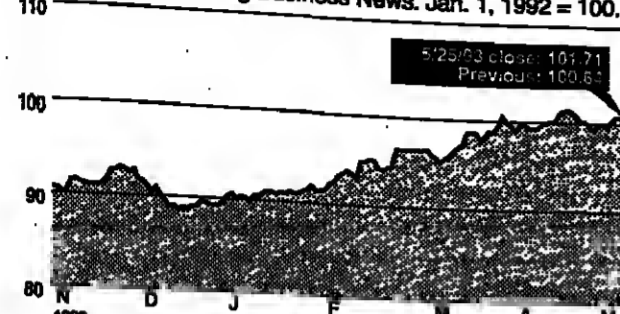
AS - Australian Dollars; A\$ - Australian Dollars; BF - Belgian Francs; C\$ - Canadian Dollars; DM - Deutsche Marks; ECU - European Currency Unit; FF - French Francs; ...

For information on how to list your fund, fax Simon OSBORN at (33-1) 46 37 21 33.



THE TRIB INDEX 101.71

International Herald Tribune World Stock Index of 230 internationally investable stocks from 20 countries, compiled by Bloomberg Business News, Jan. 1, 1992 = 100.



The index tracks U.S. dollar values of stocks in Tokyo, New York, London, and Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Hong Kong, Italy, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Singapore, Spain, Sweden and Switzerland.

Asia/Pacific, Europe, N. America. Close: 113.54 Prev: 111.47. Close: 97.82 Prev: 96.05. Close: 95.88 Prev: 95.50.

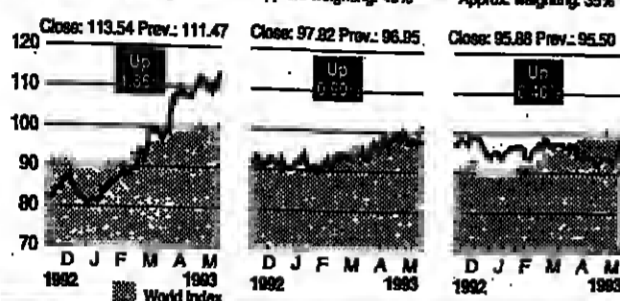


Table with 3 columns: Industrial Sectors, To. close, Prev. close, % change. Rows include Energy, Utilities, Finance, Services, Capital Goods, Raw Materials, Consumer Goods, Miscellaneous.

For readers desiring more information about the International Herald Tribune World Stock Index, a booklet is available...

Minerals Merger In U.S. Cyprus and Amax To Join Forces

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

NEW YORK — Cyprus Minerals Co. and Amax Inc. said Tuesday they had agreed to a \$2.6 billion merger that would create one of the world's largest minerals companies.

Cyprus-Amax would rank as the No. 2 producer of copper and coal in the United States, with sizable production of oil, gas, gold and lithium. It would be based in Englewood, Colorado...

AT&T Plans Global Link-Up

By Lawrence Malkin International Herald Tribune

NEW YORK — American Telephone & Telegraph Co. announced Tuesday the formation of a global network of common voice and data transmissions to serve multinational corporations...

AT&T has two strong partners already signed up in Asia and is making a bid to divide and conquer the feuding national telephone companies in Europe. It thus leaptfrog ahead of its major U.S. long-distance competitor, MCI Telecommunications Corp...

Telecom and Kokusai Denshin Denwa Co., which runs Japan's largest international phone service. AT&T said Telettra of Australia, Unitel of Canada and Korea Telecom also would join the group...

The first half-dozen customers include Good-year Tire & Rubber Co., Honeywell Inc. and Motorola Inc. Until now, such corporate clients have been forced to forge laborious links not just for inter-office calls but to transmit huge amounts of financial and marketing data...

The move also brings the global network business to life, said analyst Jack Grubman of Paine Webber. "Because AT&T is the big gorilla" and its entry means companies now will consider the service seriously. He added that MCI remained AT&T's most serious competitor because of more flexible software permitting easier hookups among disparate national companies.

Treasury Report Sends Dollar to Low Versus Yen

By Tom Redburn International Herald Tribune

The dollar fell to a record low Tuesday against the yen after the U.S. administration, sending yet another mixed message about its economic strategy regarding Japan, issued a report supporting a strong yen. At the same time, Washington insisted it was not trying to push its currency down to improve the American trade position.

The U.S. Treasury, in its semi-annual report on economic and exchange-rate policy, said that the yen's current strength could help check Japan's swelling trade and current-account surpluses.

strategist at IDEA, a New York financial consulting firm, told Bloomberg Business News. Despite the report, Lawrence Summers, Treasury undersecretary for international affairs, sought to dispel any belief that the administration was embarked on a policy of manipulating exchange rates to try to improve its competitive position in world trade.

France Steps Up Fight on Joblessness

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

PARIS — Prime Minister Edouard Balladur, showing increasing concern about France's recession, threw more weight Tuesday into his conservative government's fight against unemployment, in what his own party acknowledged was a shift in policy.

In a surprise move, Mr. Balladur also said the state would encourage ailing companies to avoid laying off workers by temporarily meeting part of the cost of their wages itself. The prime minister said he was adding the measures to a recovery program he announced on May 10 because France's economic condition was "more difficult than we could have foreseen even a few weeks ago."

ics quickly accused Mr. Balladur of panicking, abandoning the emphasis on cutting budget deficits that the center-right coalition had promised before routing the Socialist in elections in March.

When someone says the budget deficit has to be cut and then takes out a loan, I say he is pursuing the policies of a short-sighted idiot," said Francois Hollande, one of the Socialist Party's young leaders. Mr. Balladur's original plan, which mixed spending cuts, tax increases and modest stimulus measures, was criticized for failing to aggressively tackle unemployment, which hit a record 3.1 million people, or 10.7 percent in March.

berger, parliamentary budget chief and a member of Mr. Balladur's Gaullist party. The bond issue, outlined by the government Monday, could be expected to bring in 40 billion francs (\$7.25 billion) and tide the government over until revenue from a privatization program begins flowing in the autumn, Mr. Balladur said.

Mr. Balladur's new plan, a cut in French banks' base lending rate to 8.8 percent from 9.0 percent, boosted the Paris Bourse's blue-chip CAC-40 index by 1.6 percent, but bond prices fell on worries that the prime minister was abandoning fiscal rigor. (Reuters, Bloomberg) ■ Renault on Sale List Roger Cohen of The New York Times reported: The French state-owned automaker Renault, the largest industrial company in France, is among the corporations that have been chosen by the French government for possible privatization, the company's chairman, Louis Schweitzer, said in an interview.

He said that Renault would appear on a list of companies to be announced Wednesday by the government. "I am not at all hostile to an eventual sale of Renault to the private sector, which seems to me a logical step," he said.

He said the only condition, in his view, should be that the company remain French-owned. "Nobody would understand if Renault ceased to be a French company," he said. "If Ford or General Motors ceased to be American, it would be a problem." Renault was a private company from the time it was established in 1899 until it was nationalized by Charles de Gaulle in 1945.

MEDIA MARKETS

Dow Jones and Money: Employees Want Theirs

By William Chaberson New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Reporters at The Wall Street Journal, who usually write about other people's money, have lately been doing some reporting about their own. Their conclusion is that they are drastically underpaid, compared with competitors at other major publications.

That has stirred up something of an employee rebellion at the company. The in-house union, which represents some 2,000 employees at the Journal and its parent, Dow Jones & Co., recently presented its own salary study. It showed that the least experienced reporters at news organizations such as Reuters, Consumer Reports and The New York Times make as much as \$20,000 more than the minimum at Dow Jones, which is \$34,164.

Reporters at those three are represented by the Newspaper Guild. The study, presented during contract negotiations, has provoked what Journal veterans say is unprecedented activity on behalf of the union, which also represents support, wire-service and business-department staff among other employees. Last week, more than 250 members of Dow Jones' domestic unionized news staff of 350 signed a petition saying they supported the union, the Independent Association of Publishers' Employees.

Amid pay talks, unprecedented support for the union. Roger B. May, Dow Jones' spokesman, said no one at the company or the newspaper would respond to the union's assertions, saying that "we are not going to negotiate in the newspapers." But he added, "I don't think there is a disparity" of wages. As at many other newspapers, the Journal has a "star system," paying valued reporters and editors much more than the minimum guaranteed by the contract. Some Journal reporters make \$50,000 or more. But as at all unionized newspapers, the minimum defines the salary range because publishers pay some employees the minimum.

Late last month, about a dozen Journal reporters surprised Dow Jones negotiators by showing up unannounced at a negotiating session on replacing the union's three-year contract, which expired in February.

People who attended the negotiating session said they were especially incensed at one company representative's suggestion that Dow Jones paid comparatively little because its executives felt that reporters were compensated by receiving "training." That comment immediately became part of the Journal's lore. Someone photocopied a sign that has since appeared on bulletin boards and work stations all over the newspaper's office. "This job is a test," the sign reads. "It is only a test. Had it been an actual job, you would have received bonuses, raises and promotions."

HDTV Could Air By the Mid-1990s

Rivals Find Compromise Standard

By John Burgess Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — The "grand alliance" by three major electronics groups to design a single version of high-definition television paves the way for commercial broadcasts using the technology by the second half of the decade, according to industry executives.

The accord between the rival groups, announced late Monday, broke a deadlock in the U.S. selection of a version of HDTV, which brings razor-sharp pictures and compact disk-quality sound to TV sets. Extensive testing of competing systems submitted by the three groups had identified no clear winner, dimming hopes for a rapid arrival of the new technology. Joseph Donahue, senior vice president at Thomson Consumer Electronics Inc., an alliance member, suggested commercial broadcasts might come as early as next year for the 1996 Olympics in Atlanta.

It would be the world's first digital television, using the underlying technology of computers. With it, U.S. electronics companies hope to take the lead in an emerging global industry that is now dominated by Japan.

The head of an industry committee that is advising the Federal Communications Commission on which standard to select for HDTV hailed the agreement. "Combine the best elements of all the systems—that would be in the public interest," said Richard Wiley, a Washington communications lawyer and former FCC chairman.

HDTV provides greater clarity by increasing the number of horizontal lines that make up a TV picture. Through advanced computer processing technology, it offers colors more true to life and sound comparable to that of compact disks. Many analysts believe that HDTV will figure prominently in a coming merger of television and computing. It would be the home terminal for movies, computing, on-line electronics services and education, they say.

"HDTV isn't just about prettier television pictures," said Mr. Wiley. "What we're talking about is a worldwide imaging revolution." Despite Monday's deal, the future of the selection process is by no means certain. Edward J. Markey, Massachusetts Democrat and chairman of the House telecommunications subcommittee, raised questions about whether the proposal would bring sufficient technological advances to justify the cost.

Table with 4 columns: Currency, Par \$, Par S, Par S. Rows include Australia, Brazil, Canada, France, Germany, Hong Kong, India, Japan, Korea, New Zealand, Singapore, Taiwan, Thailand, U.K., U.S., West Germany, Yen.

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Throughout history, man has sought to safeguard the things he values. It was true in the Middle Ages, when banking institutions emerged to shelter the wealth created by an expanding market economy. It's equally true now. Today, however, safety isn't a matter of having the biggest strongbox or the heaviest padlock. In today's fluid world, safety is tied to prudent policies, a strong balance sheet and a conservative banking philosophy. Those are the very qualities that have made Republic National Bank one of the safest institutions in the world. Our asset quality and capital ratios are among the strongest in the industry. And our dedication to protecting depositors' funds is unmatched anywhere. As a subsidiary of Safra Republic Holdings S.A. and an affiliate of Republic New York Corporation, we're part of a global group with more than US\$4 billion in capital and US\$46 billion in assets. These assets continue to grow substantially, a testament to the group's risk-averse orientation and century-old heritage. So, while much has changed since the Middle Ages, safety is still a depositor's most important concern. And it's still our most important mission.

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MARKET DIARY

U.S. / AT THE CLOSE

Wall Street Rises On Rate Outlook

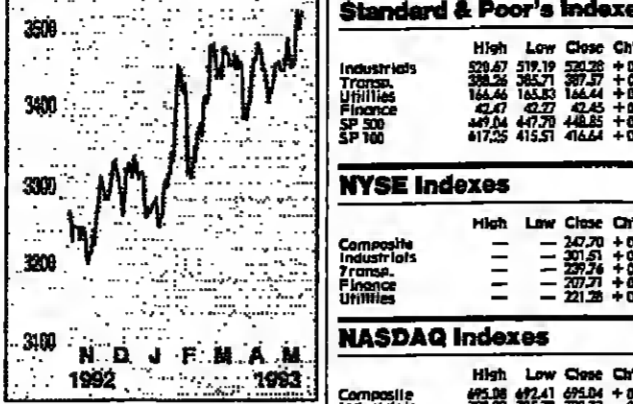
NEW YORK — Stocks rose Tuesday for the second straight session amid optimism that a fragile economic recovery would dissuade the Federal Reserve Board from raising interest rates soon.

The Dow Jones industrial average rose 8.85 points, to 3,516.63, while advancing issues on the New York Stock Exchange outperformed decliners by a 4-to-3 ratio. After rising much of the day, long-term Treasury bonds slipped 1/32, to 101 15/32, nudging their yield up to 7.01 percent from 7.00 percent.

DOLLAR: Mixed Signals in U.S.

Korea and Taiwan, which had been accused in the past of currency manipulation, were no longer doing so. But the White House's approach to Tokyo continued to attract the most attention. On Monday, Ron Brown, the secretary of commerce, said the government would press Japan to adopt specific goals for improved market access similar to the agreement in which Tokyo accepted a 20 percent target for foreign sales of semiconductors.

The Dow Daily closings of the Dow Jones industrial average



NYSE Most Actives

NYSE Stock Index

Dow Jones Bond Averages

Market Sales

N.Y.S.E. Odd-Lot Trading

NYSE Diary

Amex Diary

NASDAQ Diary

Foreign Exchange

er-than-expected amount in May, adding to worries about the strength of the U.S. economy. "People are not sure about the dollar or the mark," said Lee Ferridge, an economist at NatWest Capital Markets in London.

EUROPEAN FUTURES

Industrials

Food

Metals

Financial

3-MONTH EURO DOLLARS (LIFFE)

LONG GILT (LIFFE)

GERMAN GOVERNMENT BOND (LIFFE)

3-MONTH STERLING (LIFFE)

3-MONTH EURO DOLLARS (LIFFE)

LONG GILT (LIFFE)

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3-MONTH STERLING (LIFFE)

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3-MONTH EURO DOLLARS (LIFFE)

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GERMAN GOVERNMENT BOND (LIFFE)

3-MONTH STERLING (LIFFE)

3-MONTH EURO DOLLARS (LIFFE)

LONG GILT (LIFFE)

Consumer Optimism Skids

NEW YORK (AP) — Consumers' confidence in the American economy fell in May to the lowest level since October, according to a widely followed survey published Tuesday.

Profit Fall Trips Dell Stock

AUSTIN, TEXAS — Dell Computer Corp.'s stock lost more than one-fifth of its value on Tuesday, after the company said first-quarter earnings had fallen 48.5 percent and made bleak predictions for the rest of the year.

Kmart Considers Specialty Spinoffs

TROY, Michigan (AP) — Kmart Corp. Chairman Joseph Antonini said Tuesday the retailer was considering selling minority interests in some of its specialty-store subsidiaries.

GM's EDS Unit Cuts Jobs Worldwide

DETROIT (AP) — Electronic Data Systems Corp., General Motors Corp.'s information-services unit, has laid off workers around the world to increase efficiency and cut costs, a spokesman said.

For the Record

Carraig Inc. said that Korea Zinc Ltd. and Samsung Corp. had signed an agreement to invest 50 million Canadian dollars (\$39.5 million) in the ailing Canadian mining company.

U.S. FUTURES

Grains

Metals

Financial

Livestock

Food

Financial

Food

Financial

Food

Financial

Food

Financial

Food

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Food

Financial

Food

Financial

Stock Indexes

Stock Indexes

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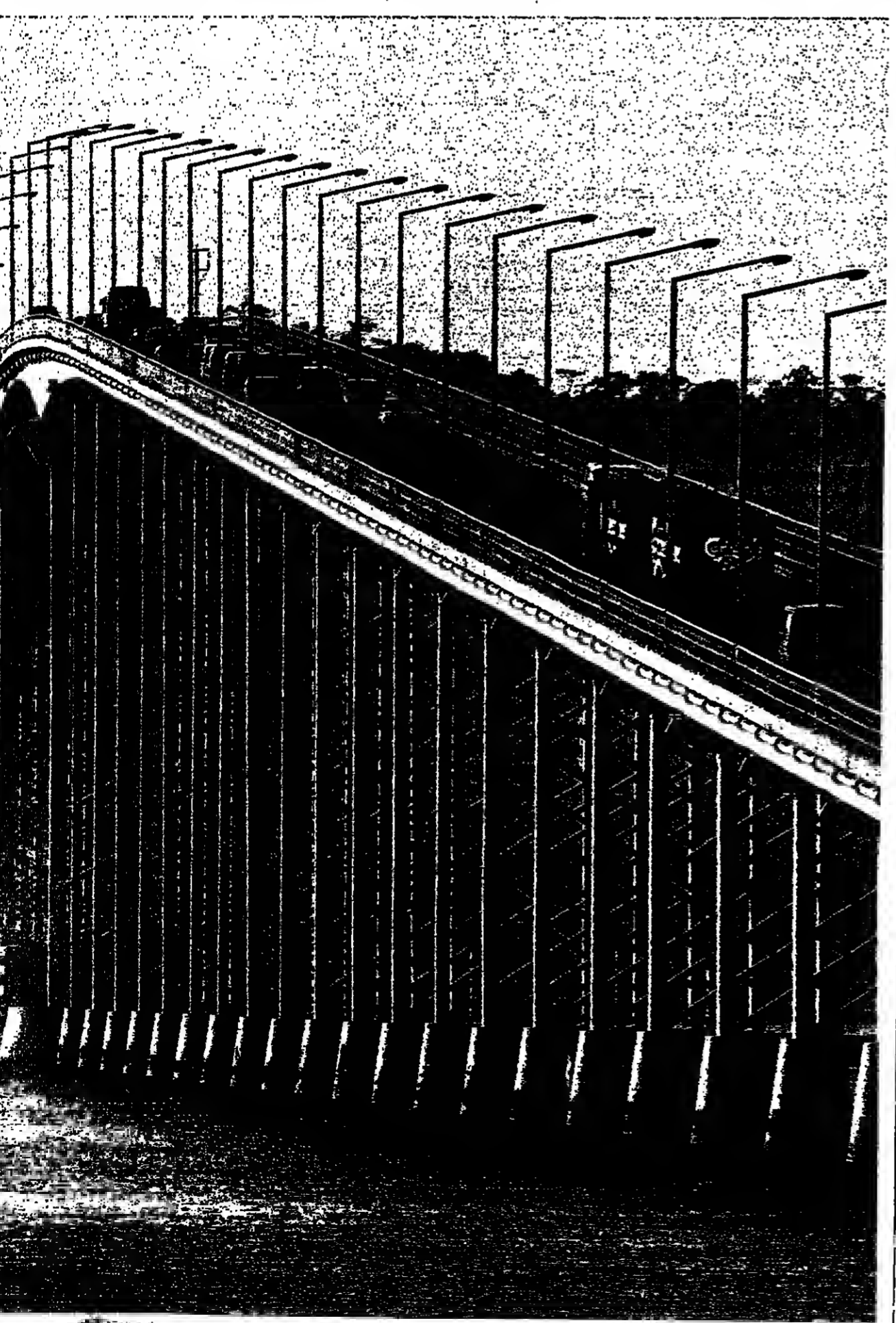
Stock Indexes

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Stock Indexes

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Probably the best beer in the world.

Vertical advertisement on the right edge of the page, featuring text like 'Metal Lead', 'Down A', 'Brider Seanc', and 'MANY: After a'.



Handwritten note: 'المطالعة' (Al-Matala)

IG Metall Leader Steps Down Amid Insider Scandal

FRANKFURT — The leader of Germany's most powerful trade union said he was resigning on Tuesday after a major row over insider trading accusations.

Mr. Steinkühler admitted he made 64,000 Deutsche marks (\$39,000) profit by selling part of them after Daimler-Benz decided on April 2 to exchange the shares directly for Daimler-Benz shares.

His resignation as union boss will also remove him from the Daimler-Benz supervisory board, as well as from similar posts at the industrial giant Thyssen AG and Volkswagen AG.

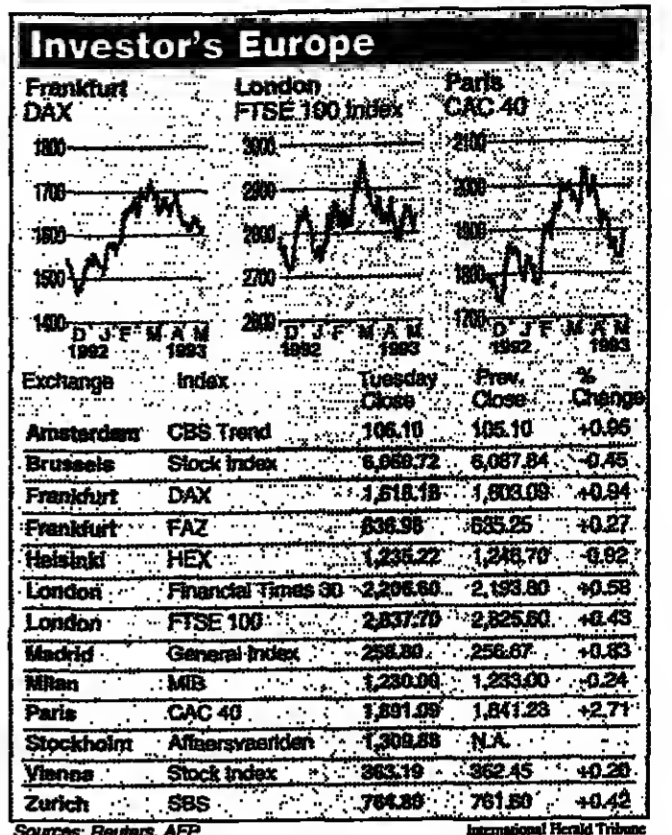
Spain's Socialists Red-Faced Official Quits Over Refinery-Project Hoax

By Brian McGarry Special to the Herald Tribune MADRID — The governing Socialist Party suffered a serious political blow Tuesday, less than two weeks before national elections, as a \$3 billion plan for an oil refinery in a depressed area of the country turned out to be a elaborate hoax.

"The objectives of this set-up we do not know," a spokesman for the Asturian regional government said late Tuesday, but he said that Mr. Lauze "did not receive any money."

Virgin Aids Earnings At Thorn

LONDON — Thorn EMI PLC said Tuesday that its acquisition of Virgin Music Group last year had helped it nearly double its earnings, and the company plans to withdraw from the defense business in favor of its entertainment sector.



EMS Has Failed, Danish Bank Chief Says

COPENHAGEN — The European Monetary System has effectively broken down by allowing some countries to win competitive advantages when devaluing their currencies, the head of the Danish central bank, Erik Hoffmeyer, said Tuesday.

forceful attack on competitive devaluations by some countries. Britain and Italy pulled their currencies out of the EC exchange-rate mechanism last autumn, and Ireland, Spain and Portugal have since devalued within the mechanism in the face of heavy market speculation against their currencies.

While the pound, the lira and the Spanish peseta all have been effectively devalued by between 14 percent and 17 percent, the Danish krone has withstood several rounds of speculative pressure in the ERM, even though the Danish unemployment rate has risen to a record 12 percent.

EC finance ministers agreed at an informal meeting in the Danish town of Kolding during the weekend that a major overhaul of the EMS was not needed. But monetary officials said discussions at Kolding concluded that the system had been abused for competitive purposes.

GERMANY: After a Decade of Easy Living, Looming Structural Crisis Brings Calls for Deep Change

Continued from Page 1... for at least the next two years. "The operative word is 'lean,'" said Werner Dieter, chairman of Mannesmann AG, one of Germany's biggest industrial companies.

pay increase in Eastern Germany. Economists said it was sure to lead to additional layoffs and diminish the region's attractiveness to investors.

labor office was only aware of a third of the available job openings at any time. Some economists said West German unemployment could be cut by more than 10 percent, or about 200,000, if private job referral services were allowed to operate in Germany.

notoriously slow, the system has been churning out too many university graduates and too few trade-related specialists to meet the country's needs.

ing restructured to prepare them for sale by the end of the decade. Another priority cited frequently by Mr. Krenzold is overcoming a German aversion to new, usually foreign, technologies.

nascent industries. He suggested a greater share of the Community's collective resources should be devoted to forward-looking technologies such as environmental engineering.

Speyhawk Calls in Receivers

LONDON — The British real estate concern Speyhawk PLC has been put into receivership at its own request, the company said Tuesday, ending two years of struggle to restructure its debts.

WORLD STOCK MARKETS

Table of World Stock Markets listing various indices and stock prices across multiple columns, including Amsterdam, Helsinki, Hong Kong, Johannesburg, London, Milan, Stockholm, Toronto, and Zurich.

MANAGE: Firms Blame Society

Continued from Page 1... space AG, a big unit of Germany's Daimler-Benz AG.

Advertisement for Charles Schwab, featuring the text 'Charles Schwab is your direct link to U.S. investing' and 'Service designed for the independent investor' along with contact information.



# China Pledges Plan for GATT To Cut Farm-Import Limits

GENEVA—China has pledged to present a plan in July under the tariff-cutting Uruguay Round that would eliminate most of its quantitative limits on farm imports, GATT sources said Tuesday.

Three major agricultural exporters, Australia, New Zealand and Argentina, welcomed Beijing's announcement at a closed session of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, they said.

Vice Minister Gu Yongxiang, in a speech late on Monday, said the offer would be made soon, and the Chinese delegation on Tuesday made clear it was expected in July, the sources said.

Mr. Gu, head of China's delegation, said: "We support the objectives of negotiation on trade in agriculture in the Uruguay Round and are prepared to submit to the negotiating committee our offer on Chinese agricultural products."

But he said restrictions on individual agricultural products subject to import licenses, such as wool and rubber, would be justified by relevant GATT provisions.

One GATT source said: "They said it would be made in July, but that it was not possible to envision total liberalization."

As some regions of China depend heavily on rubber and wool, current import limits would be kept to protect local production, the source quoted Beijing's delegation as saying.

Mr. Gu also informed GATT about Beijing's trade, pricing and foreign-exchange policy reforms — steps toward a market economy seen as preconditions for joining GATT.

He was addressing the 14th session of a GATT working party studying China's 1996 application, which opened week-long talks on Monday and is continuing the lengthy accession negotiations.

"The fast-growing economy, together with the con-

stant perfection of the market mechanism, will certainly facilitate the expansion of China's foreign trade," Mr. Gu said in his speech. "That again shows China's resolve to resume its GATT contracting-party status the soonest possible."

Beijing, which left GATT after the Communist takeover in 1949, hopes for readmission as part of its bid to integrate the world's most populous nation further into the global economy.

While negotiating its accession, China is holding bilateral tariff negotiations with Japan, Canada, Switzerland and the United States, according to trade sources. Pending accession, it is allowed to take part in the Uruguay Round as one of 117 nations seeking a global accord to reduce trade barriers in agriculture, industrial goods and services.

**Successor to Dunkel**

GATT said that a special meeting was called for June 9 to appoint a new director-general, widely expected to be Peter Sutherland, chairman of Allied Irish Banks, Reuters reported from Geneva.

Mr. Sutherland, an Irishman who was the EC competition commissioner from 1985 to 1989, is the top choice to succeed Arthur Dunkel, who will be retiring at the end of June, according to trade delegates.

"The purpose of the session is the appointment of a new director-general," GATT said in a statement announcing the closed-door meeting.

The United States has backed Mr. Sutherland, the official candidate of the Community for the top post, which traditionally goes to a European, according to trade sources.

Mr. Dunkel, a 60-year-old former Swiss diplomat, has been at the helm of GATT for 13 years.

Indian Ambassador R.K. Zosbi, who serves as chairman of the 111 GATT contracting parties, said on May 13 that three candidates had been nominated.

## Cathay Chooses McCann

Bloomberg Business News

HONG KONG — Cathay Pacific Airways said Tuesday it had chosen McCann-Erickson Worldwide as its new global advertising agency and marketing partner.

The account is thought to be one of the biggest handed out by any Hong Kong company, but a spokeswoman for Cathay declined to say how much it was worth.

McCann-Erickson will take over the account from Leo Burnett on Sept. 1, Cathay said. The airline had said in February that its contract with Leo Burnett would not be renewed.

McCann-Erickson beat Ogilvy & Mather in a final competition for the account after the two had been selected from the seven agencies that Cathay originally considered.

McCann-Erickson is the biggest advertising agency in the world, but it only ranks ninth in Hong Kong in terms of billings, or total value of advertising accounts, said Cathay, which is controlled by the Hong Kong conglomerate Swire Pacific.

# Japan Stays No. 1 Among World's Creditor Nations

The Associated Press

TOKYO — Japan remained the world's top creditor nation for the second consecutive year in 1992, government figures showed Tuesday, with its overseas assets exceeding foreign liabilities by a record \$313.6 billion.

The announcement was expected to lead to even louder calls from trading partners for more active efforts to pare Japan's trade surpluses.

By selling much more merchandise abroad than it buys, Japan has cash to spare for overseas lending and factory, stock and real estate purchases.

Finance Ministry officials said, however, that the 34.1 percent growth in Japan's net foreign assets last year resulted mainly from a plunge in foreign liabilities — the amount Japanese owe to foreigners.

Finance Minister Yoshiro Hayashi said Germany ranked second and Britain third. Germany's net foreign assets were reported as \$333.9 billion as of June 1992.

Mr. Hayashi said that from a global standpoint, such a huge surplus in foreign assets might appear questionable. But he remarked that the growth in net overseas assets "certainly isn't a bad thing." He added that he thought it was a good thing, as a reflection of growing Japanese wealth.

In the latest Japanese snipe at the U.S. position on trade, Mr. Hayashi took the opportunity to point out that the United States remained the world's biggest debtor nation.

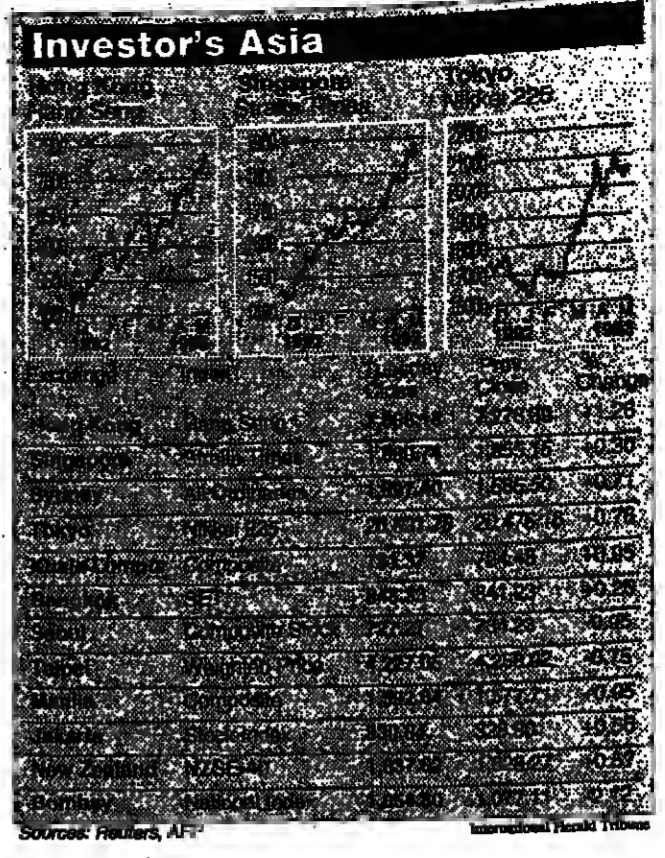
Mr. Hayashi charged that the role of the International Monetary Fund was "being lost" because that financial institution had not required the United States to adopt policies to correct its long-term current-account deficit, but did require such changes of developing nations.

The ministry did not provide figures for Japan's assets and liabilities in individual countries.

It said total Japanese foreign assets rose 1.43 percent, to \$2,04 trillion, at the end of last year as private direct investment and purchases of foreign securities and bonds rose slightly.

Total liabilities fell 6.3 percent to \$1.52 trillion, it added.

Japan became the world's largest creditor nation in 1985 as major industrial countries coordinated monetary policies to increase the yen's value against other currencies.



**Very briefly:**

- TDK Corp. said Japan's slump and the yen's rise led to a 30.9 percent decline in group annual profit, to 33.45 billion yen (\$302.7 million).
- TNT Ltd., the Australian transport company, blamed deepening recession in Europe and seasonal factors for a loss of 92 million Australian dollars (\$64.5 million) in the nine months to March 31.
- Finelec Ltd., the largest Japanese electric-machinery maker, said it would jointly develop next-generation gas turbines with General Electric Co. of the United States.
- Swiss Bank Corp. said it had acquired a 28 percent stake in the Malaysian securities house Public Consolidated Holdings Ltd. from Public Bank Bhd. of Kuala Lumpur.
- Mitsubishi Heavy Industries Ltd. said group pretax profit had fallen 13.5 percent in the year to March 31, to 153 billion yen.

Reuters, AFP, Bloomberg

# Competitors Slice Into NTT Earnings

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

TOKYO — Rising competition and a weak economy took a bite out of Nippon Telegraph & Telephone Corp.'s profit in the latest financial year, the company said Tuesday, adding a dark outlook for the current period.

NTT said its current profit was 265.2 billion yen (\$2.40 billion) in the year that ended March 31, down 27.7 percent from 366.7 billion yen a year earlier. Current profit is before taxes and includes portfolio results and other nonoperating data. Net profit fell 12.2 percent, to 167.6 billion yen, while revenue edged up 1.6 percent, to 6.50 billion yen.

Competition from new companies was largely to blame for the fall, said Tomoo Kamayashi, senior executive vice president of the partly privatized telecommunications company. Competitors offering cheaper service have enticed Japanese consumers away from NTT after a law protecting its monopoly on the domestic telephone business was abolished in 1985.

Kenya Nakatsuka, an NTT spokesman, said subscriber growth fell because of a slowdown in construction of office buildings, and NTT's share in the long-distance and mobile telephone markets was declining.

Corporations have been holding back on installing new lines and telephone systems because of the country's economic slowdown, Mr. Kamayashi said. The separation of NTT's mobile phone unit into a new company, NTT Docomo, also

contributed to the drop in revenue. This year probably will be worse. The company sees current profit for the year ending March 1994 reaching only 176 billion yen and net profit at 112 billion yen. "With a bad economy, a further profit decline will be inevitable for the next fiscal year," Mr. Kamayashi said.

The earnings forecast does not include the impact from a planned increase in tariffs on public telephones, NTT said. The company has applied to the government for approval to raise tariffs on public telephone calls. If its rate rise is implemented this fall, 20 billion yen would be added to revenue this year.

NTT plans to raise tariffs on public telephone calls again in the year to March 1995, which it estimates will add 70 billion yen to

annual revenue. But its falling share of the long-distance market is pressuring sales. It now holds just 45 percent of the long-distance market in the three main urban areas of Tokyo, Osaka and Nagoya, with new competitors holding the remainder.

The company therefore plans to reduce long-distance charges, slicing about 150 billion yen from sales.

NTT announced cost-cutting measures Tuesday, including a staff reduction and 20 percent cut in executive bonuses.

But it continues to spend. The company is planning to shell out 45 trillion yen over the next 20 years on connecting Japan's telephones to a fiber-optic network.

(AFP, Bloomberg, Reuters, AP)

# Japan Economy Mired, Latest Data Suggest

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

TOKYO — Economic statistics released Tuesday showed that the Japanese economy remained in the doldrums and that consumers were still hesitant to part with their yen.

Department-store sales in April were down 6.5 percent from a year earlier at 707.1 billion yen (\$6.4 billion), the Japan Department Store Association said, marking the 11th consecutive monthly decline.

Meanwhile, Japan's production of passenger cars, trucks and buses fell 10.6 percent in April from a year before, to 920,686 units, the Japan Automobile Manufacturers Association said.

The spate of gloomy news comes as analysts say banks are getting ready to raise interest rates in response to a rise in bond yields in recent weeks. Japan's long-term prime rate is linked to the banks' cost of raising funds in the bond market.

Economists predict more of the same tone of news later in the week, with the Ministry of International Trade and Industry scheduled to release its own monthly survey of large retailers Thursday.

According to an average of six economists' forecasts compiled by Bloomberg Business News, the ministry's survey will show that sales at major Japanese retailers fell by 6.4 percent in April from a year earlier. Inflation remains low, however, with the consumer price index, due to be announced on Friday, expected to show that prices of goods and services in Tokyo are only 1 percent higher this month than they were in May 1992, according to economists' forecasts.

Meanwhile, the governor of the Bank of Japan, Yasushi Mieno, said that the Japanese economy was expected to recover in the second half of this fiscal year, which ends March 31, 1994.

At a meeting of trust banks, Mr. Mieno forecast a "recovery stage" would begin in the second half but conceded that "the pace might be moderate." He said that the economy would be supported mainly by public-works projects for the time being.

(Bloomberg, AFP)

# COMPROMISE: U.S. Deal on HDTV Paves Way for Broadcasts by Middle of the Decade

(Continued from first finance page)

groundwork to dominate a mammoth new field of electronics, computers and television. The alliance, he said in a statement, was a "deal struck among private parties," but the selection "remains a public process, subject to public scrutiny."

Mass adoption of HDTV also will depend on the companies successfully building a prototype of the system that they propose. And Americans must be sufficiently impressed with HDTV to spend several thousand dollars to buy the special sets they will need.

The technology became a new front of global competition in the late 1980s, as Japan prepared to put in place the world's first HDTV system. Fearful it was laying the

U.S. versions harness the "digital" technology of computers, which opens the door to such things as picture manipulation and the expected merger with computer. Conventional TV transmits pictures as variations in radio waves. Digital TV, in contrast, sends out high-speed bursts of radio pulses that represent the ones and zeros of computer language.

The alliance represents a shift in tactics for the United States' six-year-old quest for an HDTV system. Until now, the guiding principle has been that fierce competition

would bring the best system to light.

**Technical Compromise**

The agreement on HDTV has paved the way for television's rapid convergence with the interactive world of computers and high-speed two-way communications, Edmund L. Andrews of The New York Times reported.

The unified broadcasting system that emerges from the alliance promises to be different from each of the three competing groups' approaches. In an attempt to broker the competing demands of broadcasters and computer companies, the alliance has agreed that the system will be capable of transmitting

images in a number of different formats.

This decision means that movie spectacles might be transmitted in the most sophisticated format, for example, while news programs could be transmitted at lower resolution and at less cost to the broadcaster. Each household's television set would decode the signals according to electronic instructions that accompany them, and display the appropriate format.

The system tries to satisfy the demands of computer companies, which have argued that the next generation of TV sets have to display images without the flickering that is characteristic of most video systems.

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**Herald Tribune**

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**ABB**

The Asea Brown Boveri Group is a global, \$ 30 billion company serving electric power generation, transmission, and distribution customers as well as industrial and rail transportation markets. More than half of ABB's sales are in Europe, about one-fifth each in North America and Asia, and the remainder in South America and Africa.

**CS holding**

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**Electrowatt**

Electrowatt Ltd. is a Swiss holding company of a group of international companies active in the fields of energy, industry and services. These companies have established significant or leading positions in their markets: power supply, security systems, building management systems, electronics, general contracting and real estate, engineering.

Consolidated sales have increased by 35% to Sfr. 4.6 billion over the past 5 years. During the same period the consolidated net income has risen by 25% to Sfr. 192 million. Return on equity amounts to 9.3%. 61% of sales are generated outside of Switzerland, primarily in the EC.

**Schindler**

**Schindler 1992**

Schindler, one of the world's leading elevator and escalator manufacturers, offers its products and services 24 hours a day in more than 100 countries around the world. Every day, 500 million people use Schindler facilities. Group key figures in fiscal 1992: Orders received Sfr. 4202 million (US\$ 2898 million), operating income Sfr. 4457 million (US\$ 3074 million), net profit Sfr. 110.7 million (US\$ 76.3 million), cash flow Sfr. 284.5 million (US\$ 196.2 million), personnel 32656. [Exchange rate applied: 1 US\$ = Sfr. 1.45].

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Genm, Surface Technology, Hydraulics, Thermal Turbomachinery, Paper Technology, and Pumps, for which it transforms its future-oriented and superior technological know-how into products and services which are attractive for its customers. Each product division strives to be technically excellent, growing, profitable, and a leading partner to its customers. The annual report describes the company's strategic development and the excellent results it achieve achieved in 1992.

**SKF**

SKF is the world leader in rolling bearings, with a world market share of approx. 20 percent. Rolling bearings and seals are SKF's core business. The Group also manufactures machine tools, aerospace equipment, textile machinery components and other high precision engineered products, as well as special steels. Group sales for 1992 amounted to SEK 26 649 million.

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SPORTS

FRENCH OPEN

Lendl Becomes the First Seed to Say Adieu



Andre Agassi, stopping Sam Perkins, set fire of the 16 blocks.

Suns Rout Sonics in Game 1

Miller and Ceballos Lead Way, 105-91

By Tom Friend

PHOENIX — Charles Barkley spent much of the fourth quarter sitting on his hands. Trying not to yawn and wearing a towel like a shawl, he watched the Phoenix Suns' unheralded Cedric Ceballos, Oliver Miller and Frank Johnson wipe up the Seattle SuperSonics, 105-91.

Phoenix took a 1-0 lead in the best-of-seven Western Conference final Monday night, and did so in a 100-91 rout.

Ceballos once won the league's slam dunk championship with a blindfolded dunk, and he hadn't seen the court lately, either.

Seattle, which in its previous series, against Houston, averaged 108 points at home and 87 on the road, again left its game in the air.

Miller, the center who looks stocky but has arms as long as Kevin Johnson's legs, had 15 points, 10 rebounds and 4 assists, while backup point guard Johnson scored 10 points.

Ceballos once won the league's slam dunk championship with a blindfolded dunk, and he hadn't seen the court lately, either.

Last week, he and Barkley were admiring themselves in front of a locker room mirror when Barkley urged Ceballos to start passing him the ball.

On Monday night, Ceballos not only passed the ball to Barkley, but Barkley passed it back.

Kukoc, the Bulls' second-round draft pick in 1990, passed up the NBA to sign a six-year deal with Benetton Treviso in Italy for a reported \$15.7 million.

Under NBA rules, the Bulls are prohibited from negotiating with Kukoc until he gets out of his current contract.

The Bulls' spokesman, Wilson Chan, said he did not know where Kukoc had gone from there.

Chicago was met at the airport in Minneapolis on Sunday with Al Vermeil, the Bulls' strength and conditioning consultant.

The Bulls' spokesman, Wilson Chan, said he did not know where Kukoc had gone from there.

Lendl Becomes the First Seed to Say Adieu

By Nick Stout

PARIS — Michael Chang had just been saying how dangerous it sometimes could be to play tennis with a stranger, one never knows what kind of surprise he might pull out of the bag.

Chang handily mastered his unknown opponent Tuesday in his first-round match at the French Open. But Ivan Lendl was not so fortunate. He fell to Stéphane Huet, a 22-year-old French qualifier who had never seen a Grand Slam before and whose ranking has never been higher than 284.

"This was totally unexpected," the embelishing Huet said after beating Lendl, 3-6, 7-5, 6-0, 7-6 (7-2). "To play him at all was fantastic. To beat him was magic, just magic."

The only thing he knew about Huet, Lendl said, was that he played a two-fisted backhand and took a lot of risks.

"I just didn't seem to hit the ball well enough to hurt him from the back," he said. "I was hitting as hard as I could, but it wasn't doing anything."

Pete Sampras apparently had heard enough Monica Seles-style grunts from Andrei Cherkasov, to whom he had squandered the third set. So, four games later, when he sensed that his opponent would be good on break point, Sampras belted back for all the world to hear.

"I got a little impatient in the third," Sampras said, adding that his way of saying that he got too sloppy. "But I played even better in the fourth than in the first two. He played well here last year. It's a good match to get over with."

Andre Medvedev, the highly touted Ukrainian teenager, fought off a noseliner and won a thriller from Guillermo Perez-Roldan, the Argentine who had bounced him from the Foro Italico only two weeks ago.

"It was like a boxing match," Medvedev said of his 6-7 (2-7), 4-6, 6-4, 6-3, 6-4 victory. He compared his first-set noseliner to "taking a punch on the head."

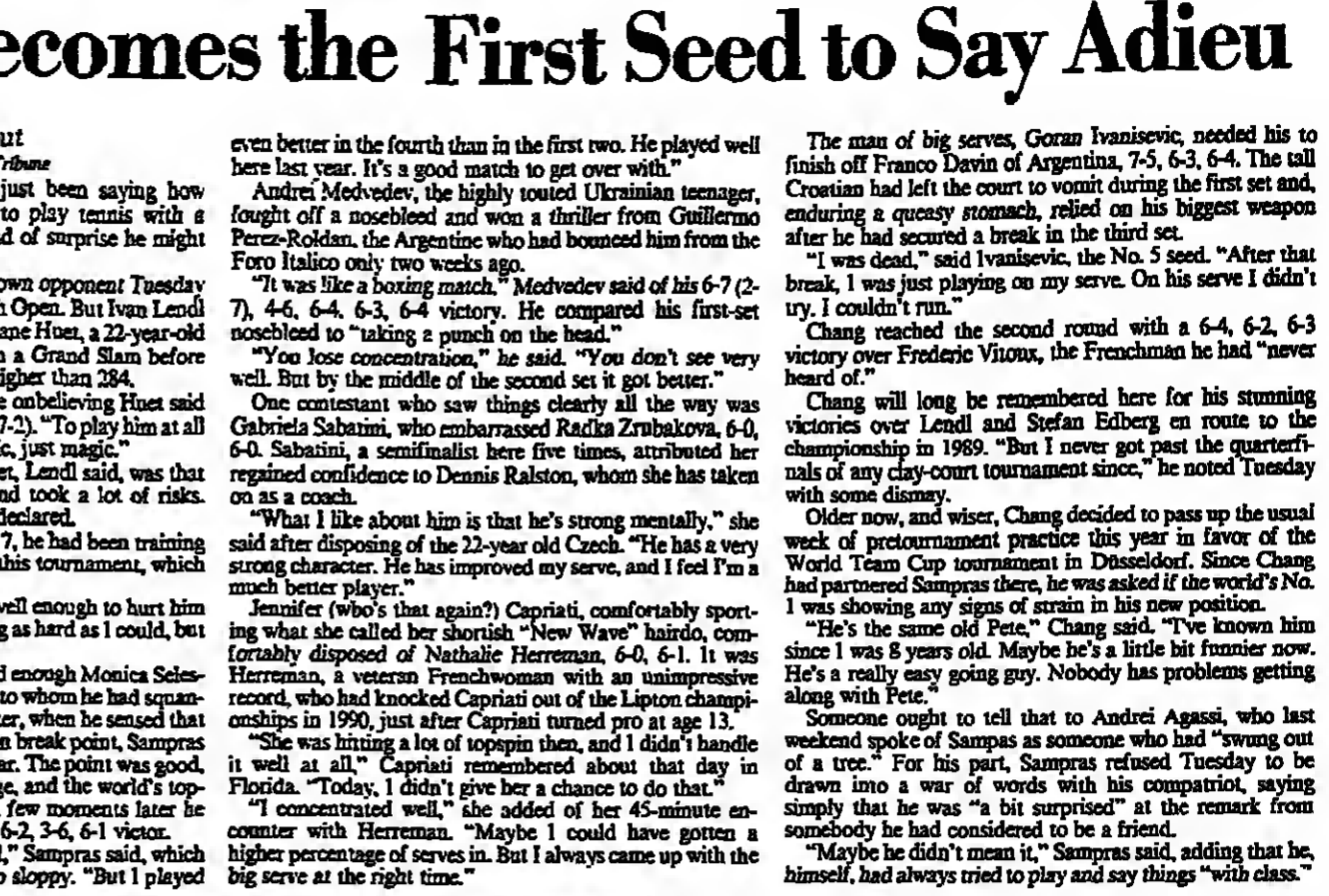
One constant who saw things clearly all the way was Gabriela Sabatini, who embarrassed Radka Zrubakova, 6-0, 6-0. Sabatini, a semifinalist here five times, attributed her regained confidence to Dennis Ralston, whom she has taken on as a coach.

"What I like about him is that he's strong mentally," she said after disposing of the 22-year-old Czech. "He has a very strong character. He has improved my serve, and I feel I'm a much better player."

Jennifer (who's that again?) Capriati, comfortably sporting what she called her shortish "New Wave" hairdo, comfortably disposed of Nathalie Herreman, 6-0, 6-1. It was Herreman, a veteran Frenchwoman with an unimpressive record, who had knocked Capriati out of the Lipton championships in 1990, just after Capriati turned pro at age 13.

"She was hitting a lot of topspin then, and I didn't handle it well at all," Capriati remembered about that day in Florida. "Today, I didn't give her a chance to do that."

"I concentrated well," she added of her 45-minute encounter with Herreman. "Maybe I could have gotten a higher percentage of serves in. But I always came up with the big serve at the right time."



Stephane Huet of France called it "totally unexpected" as he beat Ivan Lendl, 3-6, 7-5, 6-0, 7-6 (7-2).

Barkley Is Voted MVP; Olajuwon 2d, Jordan 3d

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

PHOENIX — Charles Barkley of the Suns was named the NBA's most valuable player Monday, breaking a decade-long lock on the award by Larry Bird, Magic Johnson and Michael Jordan.

The 6-foot, 4 1/2-inch forward, who shaves his head twice a week and prefers not to be a role player, was named the league's premier player with 835 points, including 59 first-place votes.

He and Chicago's Jordan were the only players named on all 98 ballots cast by a panel of sportswriters and broadcasters in NBA cities.

Yet Jordan finished third, behind Hakeem Olajuwon of Houston. Olajuwon had 647 points, including 22 first-place votes, while Jordan had 565 points and 13 first-place votes.

The other four first-place votes went to Patrick Ewing of New York, who was fourth with 359 points.

Bird won the award in 1984, '85 and '86. Johnson won in '87, '89 and '90, and Jordan won in 1988, '91 and '92.

Barkley entered the league in 1984. This season, at age 30, he was fifth in scoring (25.6), sixth in rebounding (12.2) and averaged 3.1 assists. His 74 blocked shots were his most since 1988.

The Chicago Bulls, who only a week ago denied any intention of talking soon with Toni Kukoc, are now admitting that the 24-year-old Croatian star is in the United States for evaluation and possible negotiations.

Kukoc was met at the airport in Minneapolis on Sunday with Al Vermeil, the Bulls' strength and conditioning consultant.

The Bulls' spokesman, Wilson Chan, said he did not know where Kukoc had gone from there.

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Indian Rookie Gets A Near-Perfect Win

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

Tom Kramer's first major-league victory was a memorable one.

The 25-year-old rookie right-hander pitched a one-hitter in his second big-league start and was backed by two home runs from Paul Sorrento as the Cleveland Indians beat the visiting Texas Rangers, 4-1, Monday night.

Kramer allowed only a homer by Julio Franco, in the fourth inning, while striking out eight in facing one batter over the minimum.

"It just set in. I came one pitch from a perfect game," Kramer said.

"All I can say is, wow," Kramer, who has made 15 relief appearances this season, retired the first 10 batters before Franco drilled a 1-1 pitch over the left-field fence. Kramer then set down the next 17 batters in order for the first one-hitter by a Cleveland pitcher since Aug. 8, 1992, when Charles Nagy beat the Baltimore Orioles.

Sorrento hit a two-run homer in the second and a solo shot in the eighth, both off Kevin Brown, who entered the game with a 1.62 earned-run average and had allowed just two homers in his previous 66 innings.

Sorrento has 11 homers this season and four in his last three games. Albert Belle added an RBI single for the Indians, increasing his league-leading total to 41.

Brown pitched his league-leading sixth complete game in losing. He gave up eight hits.

Blue Jays 4, Brewers 1; Devon White hit two homers and Dave Stewart held visiting Milwaukee to two hits through seven innings for his first victory for Toronto. The Blue Jays won their fifth straight in the shortest AL game so far this season, 2 hours, 2 minutes.

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Scoreboard section containing baseball, basketball, and soccer results and standings.

Open Results

Alberto Tomba (Italy) won the men's slalom. Other winners include Jani Tormala (Finland) in the giant slalom, and Jani Tormala (Finland) in the super-G.

For Winners, A Mercedes

STUTTGART — Each gold medal winner at the track and field world championships Aug. 12-22 will receive a Mercedes automobile, but there will be no cash awards, the IAAF's president, Primo Nebiolo, said Tuesday.

SIDELINES

Calmer Seas for America's Cup

SAN DIEGO (Reuters) — In a radical departure, Challengers and Defenders for the 1995 America's Cup have agreed that both sides will name the boat they will enter on the same day, ending a century-old rule that allowed defenders up to a year longer than challengers to unveil their boat.

A Boy's Crime and Punishment

SAVANNAH, Georgia (AP) — The Georgia labor department has ordered the Savannah Cardinals to fire their 14-year-old babyboy, saying child labor laws come before baseball tradition.

For the Record

NFL Commissioner Paul Tagliabue's contract was extended at the owners' spring meeting in Atlanta, the Atlanta Journal-Constitution reported Tuesday. Tagliabue, 53, was elected commissioner in November 1989 and given a five-year contract averaging about \$1 million annually. The extension goes to May 2000.

Escorts & Guides

BELLE EPOCH ESCORT SERVICE, LONDON PARIS, CHATEAU ESCORT SERVICE, MERCEDES ESCORT AGENCY, ARISTOCATS, INTERNATIONAL ESCORTS.



Stephane Huet of France called it "totally unexpected" as he beat Ivan Lendl, 3-6, 7-5, 6-0, 7-6 (7-2).

Phils March On Behind Greene

It has taken the Philadelphia Phillies, with the best record in the majors, just 43 games to get their 30th victory.

Tommy Greene pitched a five-hitter en route to his third straight complete game. Pete Inge hit two bases-empty homers and Dave Hollins added a three-run shot for a 6-3 triumph Monday night over the visiting New York Mets.

NL ROUNDUP

When things seem to be going good, everything's going good," Ingevin said.

Greene allowed two earned runs, walked three and struck out seven in becoming the first starter for the Phillies since Carlton in 1981 to win his first six decisions.

Ingevin homered in the second and sixth innings. It was his ninth two-homer game, and gave him five homers and 13 RBI in his last seven games.

The loss for last-place New York also spoiled the debut of their manager, Dallas Green, who managed the Phillies to their last world championship in 1980.

New York closed to 4-3 in the sixth on an RBI single by Tony Fernandez, but Ingevin restored Philadelphia's two-run lead with his second homer. Wes Chamberlain added a run-scoring double in the eighth.

Cardinals 4, Expos 1; Luis Alicea's two-run triple in the 11th gave St. Louis its victory in Montreal after Ray Lankford doubled and Mark Whiten singled. Alicea then scored on a double by Erik Pappas.

Dodgers 5, Padres 4; Eric Karros hit two home runs as Los Angeles won its seventh straight, high for the majors this season.

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OBSERVER

The Untrodden Blues

By Russell Baker

WASHINGTON — Did you ever have the blues when everybody else had the greens? The editor noticed I was monopolizing them. "You ought to be ashamed of yourself for hogging all those blues," he said.

He was trying to get my goat and would have if I'd had one, but I'd just sent it to the New York Mets after learning the Mets were getting ready to fire the manager because their players were so incompetent.

"With this goat and 24 others like him," I told the Mets brass, "you can fire the manager, keep the manager and field a team that will not only play as well as the present one, but will do a better job of keeping the grass cropped."

The Mets fired the manager anyway. What's worse, they didn't fire the team. What's the use of being rich enough to own a baseball team if you're too chintzy to make the grand gesture and fire the whole bunch once in a while?

Remember that scene in "Yankee Doodle Dandy" when Cagney, having opened a Broadway show to terrible reviews, shuts it down and eats the loss rather than be associated with a stinker?

That's class. The first time I saw it I knew what I wanted to be when I grew up: incredibly rich. As the old Nizam of Hyderabad, who was synonymous in those days with diamonds by the ton.

I wanted to be rich enough to buy a baseball team so I could fire the players instead of the manager whenever they were so terrible that it was embarrassing to be associated with them. That was my idea of class: telling \$40 million worth of baseball players to clean out their lockers and pick up the rest of their millions at the cashier's window on the way out.

I could probably have become as rich as the Nizam, too, but aside from the pleasure of being able to fire whole baseball teams, the life of the hopelessly rich looked too bleak for my taste.

For one thing becoming rich required spending life's best years at staggeringly boring chores: rigging the market, watering the stock, merging, acquiring, hanging all day on the telephone with investment

Just a Taste of the Spring Social Season

PARIS — This is the start of the spring social season with its large balls and tiny sandwiches, costly bouquets and sunlit lawns. An event the other night may have been more popular than *mondain* and it took place in the rain behind the Hôtel de Ville with festoons of enfeebled balloons and a paunchy ensemble called Louisiana Jazz, but it had the particular excitement that infects Parisians whenever free food is offered. It was the first ever Fête de Fromage de Tête, or head cheese feast; "Two Tons of Fromage de Tête in the Capital!" crowed a circular from the Charcutiers de Paris and the Paris Area.

Two tons of this particular delicacy is more than anyone would wish to face but the samples provided by some 40 charcutiers had been thoughtfully and thrifty cut into chunks the size of ice cubes and set in platters on trestle tables, some of them trembling in their surrounding jelly, others fixed as if in *Fliegendes*.

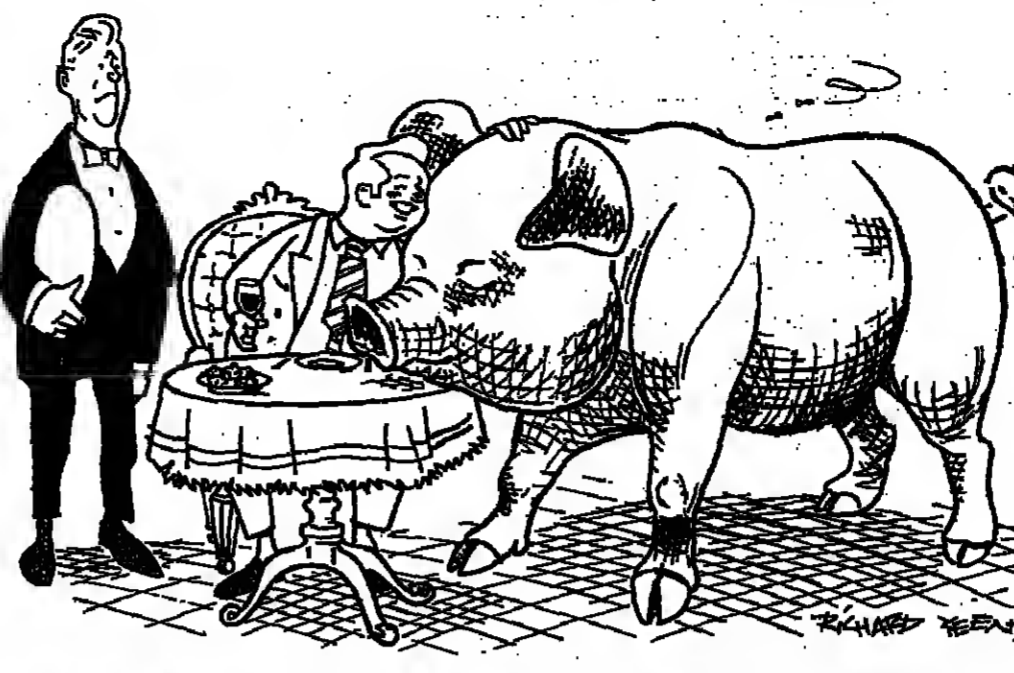
From platter to platter they varied in color from dull brown to vivid pink and in texture from nearly smooth to embedded chunks the size of an Elizabeth Taylor diamond. Fromage de tête is a classic dish, although not as popular as it once was. It is made from the head of a pig. "All of the head," emphasized the eminent authority Jean-Pierre Coffe. *ADP* "Except for the brains and part of the larynx," Coffe replied.

The point of the event was not only to give 5,000 Parisians free samples but to promote the charcutiers themselves with a dish that even the most patient housewife would be unlikely to cook up at home (it can take up to two days to prepare while, according to the charcutiers, 20 minutes is the average time devoted to cooking meals these days). Furthermore, fromage de tête is inexpensive, definitely filling, and deeply part of the gastronomic heritage. Louis XV was extremely fond of fromage de tête, which was in those days called *fromage de grotes* (not as alarming as it sounds: *le grotes* is the pig's snout). Alexandre Dumas said it was a very distinguished dish when prepared by one who knows his trade.

Among the grandees at the Giant Tasting were the *Confrérie de Saint Antoine*, master charcutiers who wear white dinner jackets and gloves, royal blue capes with black collars edged in gold and hung from wide ribbons around their necks, medals of St. Antoine who was not himself a charcutier but was followed around by a sow. Grandest of the *Confrérie* was Pierre Vigean, a famous third-generation charcutier from Rue de Serres whose grandfather sold every scrap in the shop on the memorable day of Victor Hugo's funeral, when one million hungry Parisians followed the cortege.

It would be wrong to say that France's 50,000 charcutiers have fallen on lean times since they are one of the few professions actively trying to recruit the young (3,000 beginners are needed a year). But they are facing competition from factory-produced goods and bad publicity about lipids and cholesterol.

"Total nonsense," Jean-Pierre Coffe says. "In a fromage de tête all the grease has been cooked away." On television, in the press and in his books, Coffe defends traditional French culinary values and warmly promotes both them and himself, always vividly clothed. For the tasting he wore a red minicost over a purple jacket, both cardinal and bishop in the church of French cuisine.



Coffe is the head of the *Confrérie du Fromage de Tête* whose members include the actor Gérard Depardieu and whose robes are yellow sateen edged with green and worn with a matching green top hat (how wise of Coffe to have stuck to purple and red). In his latest book, "Comme à la Maison," he gives his grandmother's recipe for fromage de tête and tolerates no deviation from the luxury: one pig's head, a couple of pig's feet for the jelly, a *houmous garni*, lots of parsley, white wine in the bouillon. Certainly no artificial color or other parts of the pig.

He moved from platter to platter, from cube to cube, fawningly seeking a likely specimen for a profane viewer. The pinker versions were suspected of having been brightened with E-120, the smoothest ones of having been cut by machine and not by hand. One was too bland, another too salty, another betrayed — can you believe it? — a hint of garlic, and another had been "improved" with the addition of cured tongue. What next, Coffe despaired.

Ignoring waiters' requests for autographs, Coffe hunted for a suitable sample and finally proffered a shimmering mosaic-like cube while flashguns popped.

"Here," he said. "This is fromage de tête as it should be, both crunchy and moist." It was very crunchy. "The crunch," said Coffe, "comes from the cartilage." "This," he added to a photographer, "is a fabulous journalist."

"Good, then I'll be able to sell her a picture," said the photographer, moving in for a close-up of a very pale, fabulous journalist and a majestic pig.

We are not yet at that point but France is not alone in its reverence for the pig, described in the Larousse *Gastronomie* as a domestic pachyderm. In China the pig constituted not one but two of the eight marvels of the table, and Italians referred to the 13-flavored pig.

In 17th-century France, Vauban took time off from building forts to calculate how many descendants a single sow would have in 12 years (the answer: 6,434,838), while with similar usefulness in 1978 the CIA counted the number of pigs in China (380 million), the Soviet Union (75 million) and the United States (370 million).

All of which takes one far from the crowded booths and hungry housewives at the grand tasting at which, it must be admitted, two stalls disloyally offering bits of ham were doing the brisket trade. The point of the event was not only to feed the populace (including two American tourists hoping for a bit of Bête) but to reward the winners of the *fromage de tête* contest.

Contestants from all France had submitted a kilo of their own product and were nervously hoping to be summoned to the stage and be augustly *Banked* by the *Confrérie de Saint Antoine* and *Louisiane Jazz*.

Some of the contestants had their names embroidered on their white jackets, just like grand chefs. One had added bright blue buttons instead of the traditional white, and he was a bundle of nerves. He was Gérard Dérégmaucourt from Douai in northern France and he held a chef's hat in a plastic bag to put on if called.

Bronze medals, silver medals, then gold. Monsieur Lermontand François, Monsieur Mercier Patrice, Monsieur Jasmin Michel... MONSIEUR DEREGMAUCOURT GERARD!

Blushing, he pulled his paper toque out of its bag and dashed through the drizzle to the stage. It Coffe that night was the self-anointed prince of the gastronomic church, Dérégmaucourt was its crowned king.

PEOPLE

Annenberg Gives Met Van Gogh Wheat Field

Walter Annenberg, the publishing magnate and former U.S. ambassador to Britain, has donated Vincent van Gogh's "Wheat Field With Cypresses" to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. He said he had paid \$57 million for the painting.

Johnny Carson says he's optimistic about television. "Of course, you know in the entertainment business an optimist is an accordion player with a beeper," he said at a lunch in his honor in New York. Carson thanked Ted Koppel, the presenter of an award, by saying, "I've always been a great admirer of Ted's, and never more so than when I learned he was the prototype for the Ken doll."

Robert Walker's first novel, "The Bridges of Madison County," is its way to the screen and sources say that Robert Redford is likely to be the star. Steven Spielberg owns the film rights for the bittersweet saga about an affair between a moody photographer and a farmer's wife. Sydney Pollack will reportedly be director, and Kathleen Turner and Cher have been mentioned as possible leading ladies.

Russell Baker, columnist for The New York Times who has twice won the Pulitzer Prize, has been elected chairman of the Pulitzer Prize board.

Oliver Stone's wife has filed for divorce after nearly 12 years of marriage. She is seeking custody of the couple's sons, 1 and 8.

Just in case you haven't had enough revelations about Mick Jagger, a new book claims that his list of sexual conquests includes Eric Clapton, David Bowie, Madonna, Andy Simon, with Rudolf Nureyev, Cary Welsch and Princess Margaret thrown in for good measure. A spokeswoman for Jagger said she would have a statement about Christopher Anderson's "Jagger Unauthorized," due out Wednesday.

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WEATHER

Table with weather forecasts for various regions including Europe, North America, Asia, and Oceania. Includes temperature ranges and weather conditions.

CROSSWORD

Crossword puzzle grid with clues for Across and Down. Includes a solution to the puzzle from May 25.

BOOKS

CLEOPATRA'S SISTER By Penelope Lively. 282 pages. \$20. HarperCollins. Reviewed by Lindsay Duguid. In this book, Cleopatra's sister is Berenice, queen in ancient times of the fictitious African country of Callimbia. A figure who tended to remain on the sidelines of her sister's campaigns of love and war, she is the subject of one of the didactic, digressive chapters which are slotted into the scene-setting first part of Penelope Lively's novel and contribute to the general historical underpinning of later events.

BEST SELLERS

Table of best-selling books categorized by Fiction and Nonfiction. Lists titles, authors, and weeks on the list.

Large advertisement for AT&T USA Direct Service. Features the slogan "Speed up the approval process." and includes a table of international phone numbers for various countries.